101
ESSAYS

(For College and Competitive Examinations)

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1. DICTATORSHIP

Twentieth century is a century of profound political evolutions and revolutions. These new political theories and doctrines are not only the offshoots of the modern age but they date back to the dawn of human civilization. This world has witnessed the benevolent kings and tyrannical rulers. The latter form has found quite a fertile field in some of the countries of Asia, Africa and Europe. The dictators of the modern world tried to change the face of their countries politically, economically and socially. But the question arises as to what are the reasons for the evolution of such dictatorial trends which we find in the countries like Red China, the U.S.S.R. and some other East European countries, who, no doubt, are now sloping to some new form of political system and are showing their antipathy to and repugnance of this totalitarian trend.

In a dictatorship, there is rule by a man or a handful of men over the entire populace of the country. But a dictator thinks *himself* to be a superman, super in intellect and understanding and super in so many other things. [illegible] ad that counts is better. [illegible] mentions the various [illegible] kings and princes ruled [illegible] What a dictator thinks he does it. He is the very defender of the destinies of the whole populace of the country. He is the controlling authority and the string puller of the policies of the government.

On the other side there is an ideology going in the name of democracy—an institution where every individual has his own say and the government is elected by the people by their own free will. They are the masters

of their own fate. The adult franchise right is exercised by all the people.

During the last few years, when we in India have been striving against heavy odds, to work successfully the somewhat novel institutions of democracy many other countries in this most populous and ancient continent of Asia have, after a brief and fitful experiment in democracy, passed under some kind or other of authoritarian rule. Communist China, the largest country of the Asia and world, together with Russia, the largest in Europe, forms the Leviathan of totalitarian communism, whose gigantic shadow is creeping over the rest of Asia and Europe. Even in some of the countries, which are just on the periphery of India, several sinister dictatorships pay a hypocritical and dubious tribute to democracy by masquerading in the guise of "controlled democracy", "guided democracy", "basic democracy", and so on..

The communist country which goes in the name of Russia today crystallized upon the stagnant heaps and smoking ruins of Czarist regime. The blood-stained Russian Revolution fathered by Lenin and his cohorts ripened in 1917, in the wake of which followed large-scale death and devastation, mass murder and massacre; the atrocious enormities and brutal barbarities perpetrated on Russian junta – is a tragic tale, a terrible and horrible drama enacted by these maniacs and blood-suckers of humanity, will always be remembered by posterity with awe and dread. The after-effects of this tyrannical act of Lenin, the archangel of Karl Marx, heralded the new political wave called communism. Communism is a predatory ideology, a monolithic creed in which the individual, nay the majority of the people, are ground in the soulless and spiritless mill of the state. The peoples are simply the slaves of the state; they are meant for the glory and power of the state. It is such a state where, in the words of Sir Winston Churchill, "men may not speak of their minds, where children denounce their parents before the police." The worthy statesman-author-general of the

U. K. further asserts : "Dictatorship, a fetish worship of one man, is a passing phase. Such a state of society cannot long endure."

Communism is a creed, nay a dangerous doctrine, which, in the name of poverty and penury, robs people. This political system offers nothing and takes everything, even the spiritual values. Dictatorship encroaches and outrages human liberties, it robs the very gifts which God bestows upon us.

Karl Marx is the father of modern communism and his book "Das Capital" is the Bible of Communism. The commandments of communism are enshrined in the "Das Capital". One of the greatest dictum of communism is, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". But this is not the very essence of this doctrine. In the hierarchy of communism alias dictatorship, there is a great craze and striving for the 'equality of opportunity', 'social equality' and 'economic equality'. But if 'economic security is asked, it is still better. But the picture which is generally presented by the modern dictatorships of the world is not commensurate with their assertions and strivings. It is a dark and dismal record of intrigues, troubles and tortures, trials and tribulations to which the native population has been put by the usurious tyrants and crude dictators of the modern time. To a communist 'end justifies means'. End should be achieved by hook or crook, by fair means or foul. They come in power, not by leaflet but by bullet.

The very theory of communism is summed up by Karl Marx and Engels in The Communist Manifesto —*i.e.*, Abolish all private property. Everything belongs to the state. The individual has no right to property. He is simply the servant and slave of the government.

Apart from these glaring reflections of communist ideology or a dictatorial policy, there is a pet belief that [illegible] should be concentrated in the hands of the few.

The minority rules the majority. The thinking is regimented.

People have their no say. Everything is suppressed and depressed. "Communism is the exploitation of the strong by the weak. In communism, inequality springs from placing mediocrity on a level with excellence", this is how Proudhon puts up the very meaning of communism.

That there has been a steady and rapid progress in the field of science, technology and industry in some of the countries ruled by dictators or autocrats, is beyond doubt, but still they have been unable in providing the masses the bare necessities of life. Russia may promise man the moon, but she has failed to promise two square meals to he common run of people. In a state where there is controlled press, regimented thinking, and concentration of power and co-operative farming is lowest in agricultural yield, as the statistics of F.A.O. reveal.

There has been the progress in some particular fields the countries like China and Russia, but at what cost ? ompared these countries with the Scandinavian ones, the communists to the core are far below in so many respects. The ideology as represented by communism is certainly attractive but is in fact impracticable. In this present era of science and educational advancement; the theories of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung are not merely obsolete and effete, but they are dead as dodo. That dictum of Lenin that power grows out of the barrel of gun, that blood can only be washed by more blood can find some place in some primitive society and savage society ; but not in an age of intellectual enlightenment and scientific advancement. The ways of these dictators and maniacs of humanity are least in tune to time, place and circumstances.

Autocracy, in its modern form, is always combined with a creed ; that of Hitler, that of Mussolini, or that of Stalin. The beliefs were instilled into the minds of

the young not by reason, but by parrot-like repetition, mass-hysteria or mass-suggestion. The youngs were brainwashed systematically in order to be prisoners of communism, which, in turn, is considered to be the prison-house of internationalism.

As to how these dictators and blood-thirsty rulers met with their ends and treated after their death is an old story, known to one and all. The very mausoleum of Stalin has been uprooted by a more liberal and educationed society and the drift which the Russian politics is receiving is somewhere away from the fads and conundrums of dictatorship. A new wave is coming which is out to thwart the designs of dictatorship and in its place promises to install a political system pure and simple, which is more congenial to the cross-currents of contemporary political thought and milieu.

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2. COMMUNISM

Communism and capitalism are the two conflicting ideological thought streams of the present political system of the whole world. Communism as a political ideology is an outstanding creed in the present-day world and each rival system is trying to maintain its supremacy over the other. The protagonists of communism advance various arguments and assertions like that it is an ideology out to create a classless society, economic equality and give the country a socialist colour or complexion. This modern political philosophy, according to a communist, endeavours to provide humanity with all the bare necessities of life—food, clothing and housing—and promises to elevate humanity to a new apex of politics which is quite free from all the canons, customs and conventions, free from all the religions and relics. This new socialist society—as is generally called—is a society based upon theories of Karl Marx, Hegel and Angel. Karl Marx was the politic scientist working behind the very philosophy of comm nism. And Lenin and Stalin of Soviet Russia were th

sincere followers and faithful practisers of this political doctrine. These preachers and teachers of communism are considered in some quarters as the apostles of a new religion, crusaders for a new world order, who strike terror in bourgeois society by the moral authority with which they speak to the masses the brutalities and barbarities of capitalist society.

Communism as a political philosophy to be preached and practised, as a power system to be installed and worshipped stood in the lands of their highest rein, that is their origin, that is Russia, China and numerous other East European countries need a thorough and deep anatomy to be of the whole history of communism—which for me is a subject to be studied dispassionately and in a disinterested and detached way.

To look upon communist leaders as fiends and evil spirits filled with greed, fraud, cruelty, tyranny and savage ambition is as extreme as to idolize them and characterize them as the heroes of a new world order. Their defiance of constitutional methods, their firm faith in the dictum that the end justifies the means, their use of democratic liberties for achieving their ends of power and their suppression of them when they attain it, the way in which they apply cruelty and cunning, speak lies and bring distortions and evasions to achieve their goal are some of the hall-marks of this ideology. There is not least denying the fact that in the matter of civil liberties and political democracy, conditions are anything comparable to what these maxims generally imply. But in the hierarchy of communism, people do not believe in the freedom of speech. Communists suppress, if and when they hold the power. There is complete proscription of all the political parties in a communist country.

To prove or vindicate our above stand as regards the enormities and atrocities of this revolutionary creed, it is essential to delve deep into the obnoxious history of Russia after the famous Russian Revolution. The role of Lenin in transforming the very socio-politico-economic structure

of Soviet Union is certainly tremendous and astounding, that too particularly that this new world movement was founded on the debris of Czarist regime which was the monarchy established on the soil of Russia. No one can refute that there was no mass butchery and bloodshed during the days of revolution but this revolution is a landmark in the history of Russia. Lenin tread the path as told by Karl Marx in his revealing 'Das Capital' which is considered to be a capital document on the whole theory of Communism or Marxism. The dictators of Russia, for the time being, became the rebels against the very kingdom of God and challenged God and curbed and destroyed all the vestiges and remnants of religion. Religion has no place in the realm of communism. Both are opposed to each other diametrically. Similar is the case with Red China. The present Red regime of Mao Tse-tung was based upon the model of Soviet Unoin though it is a fact that Russia, who gave this light of socialist society, is becoming more and more liberal in various respects while China is still ticking to the crotchets and conundrums of Lenin and Stalin and has even showered abuses upon the present leadership of U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia by dubbing these two countries as the incorrigible renegades [illegible]
Lenin had the idea [illegible]
whole world when [illegible]
communism leads fr[illegible] [illegible]king and Calcutta. Calcutta can be taken politically if India is submerged in misery, militarily if India has got weak forces."

This new power system has come to power in various countries not in a refined and decent way but through bullet, intrigue and hypocrisy. The history of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia support our contention. Much resentment was expressed in regard to their interference in Eastern democracies. Apart from Tito in Yugoslavia, the cases of Gomulka in Poland, Clementis in Czechoslovakia, Rajk in Hungary, Patrashcanu in Rumania, Kotsov [illegible] Bulgaria, Xoxe in Albania, point to the way in whi[illegible] nationalist sentiments are suppressed in lands inhabited [illegible]

Communist brigades. The very insistence on subservience to Soviet Russia in non-Russian Communist countries hurts the pride of the people. There was a time when Eastern democracies, for security reasons and under the umbrella of Yalta Agreement, Russia was practically dominating. All these are the direct pointers which are distinctly to the discredit of this predatory, totalitarian communist theory and practice.

Despite all these disadvantages and demerits of communist theory, communism has come to stay and thrive because this doctrine satisfies some basic human needs. Political ideologies which are to abide by its commitments like the maintenance of existing economic structure, which purport and propound to effect economic improvements for the large majority while retaining their present framework cannot wean people away from communism. Communism grows and spreads among people who are alienated by capitalist society, the affluent society, who are not held together by the bond of a shared moral principle where a majority of people do not find a meaning and purpose to individual existence in the groups of their belonging. To counteract this trend there must be the evolution of such a society which is devoted and dedicated to the welfare of the people as a whole. The community must be transformed in order to give it a new social vision, social colour or complexion. It is a bit difficult to attain economic security in a Welfare State without the surrender of some democratic values. The planned and pragmatic planning of Scandinavian countries and United Kingdom offers a middle path between private enterprise and totalitarian planning.

But on the wohle, communism is a negation of all the spiritual and puritan values—the values which are the *sine qua non* of humanity. The day the spiritual contemplation and altruistic outlook is eclipsed from this earth, this whole land mass will become a dead, dull and drab world full of monotony and morbidity. As communism is the enemy of all such spiritual values, so it must be fought and nipped

But it is a melancholy fact that people fight communism in the battlefields of Asia and Europe, but not in the inner arena of the minds of the people. By doing so we destroy only the symptoms, not the disease. We must present humanity w[illegible] of mankind. [illegible] There are [illegible] by suffering millions in groaning poverty, starving and naked Such areas are quite ripe for the revolutions as is also claimed by Chinese Prime Minister Chou En lai. This mass of humanit[illegible] and if not properly led will [illegible] smouldering rage aga[illegible] demonstrate to them t[illegible] human health and [illegible] democracy, while Inc[illegible] whole world. *The former is known for her generosity* and idealism being an old democracy. While the latter is the inherent exponent of tolerance and accommodation. America pledges to redeem this world from the cruel clutches of communism and provide humanity with all the requisite social, economic and political amenities. The wide gap in economic disparity should be bridged and democracy must become the vehicle of active faith and force striving for the freedom, liberty and equality of the people. Communist countries have become through blood and tears, through the expression of individual liberty, the great powers of the world, but still greater is the free society as is represented by America. Every historical *institution has the elements of good and evil. But the* institution which grants the freedom to breathe the air, to enjoy the rights on land, to act as one likes to do and one wants to do is really the superb society before which the very cathedral of communism is looked upon with contempt, hate and derision.

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3. STUDENTS AND INDISCIPLINE

The dilemma of the twentieth century is that in spite of having innumerable educational institutions in the form of schools, colleges and universities today, the real purpose of education has not taken roots in the minds and hearts of the community of students. The students of today, as it appears from the present educational system, is the same irresponsible, rowdy and misdirected lot as ever before. There is certainly something seriously wrong at the bottom. Either the present educational system is devoid of all the decencies and niceties or the modern student is not going to improve himself and thus resorts to all types of tricks, indiscipline and hooliganism. With the attainment of independence, a very many number of educational institutions, temples of learning and knowledge, have been opened in our country in order to cope with the tremendous rush of the students who are entering into the arena of education like anything.

But it is a fact, nevertheless, that no amount of improvement and reconstruction in education will bear much fruit if our schools, colleges and other alumnis of education are undermined by gross indiscipline which no doubt is spreading like wild fire. An impartial examination and deep probe into the very structure and shape of the present prevalent educational system makes it clear that students and teachers alike need more of the spirit of discipline. If proper education is to be imparted, acts of indiscipline prevalent in our educational institutions have to be checked.

Now, this indiscipline may take the shape of individual indiscipline or group indiscipline while the latter is worse of the two and is fraught with dangerous consequences leading the students, institutions and country on the path of degradation and denigration. While as individuals, many of our students are as good and great as students anywhere else on the earth, but the tendency to group indiscipline has increased manifold in the recent years.

It is a sad commentary on the affairs of the students in the recent years that people have witnessed horrible hap- [illegible] -iour, ugly scenes of row- [illegible] of the worst type. Such [illegible] dangerous and detrimental to the very health of the nation are said to have been witnessed and reported in the newspapers before which every intellectual intrinsic mind and balanced brain feels ashamed and defamed. There is hardly any university in India which has not experienced this period of great harassment and embarrassment due to the ugly acts of students. Recently, India, nay the whole world, witnessed the dirty and disastrous drama staged by the students of Aligarh Muslim University when a massive mob of the students hurled stones on their Vice-Chancellor Ali Yawar Jung. This Vice-Chancellor who happened to be a great diplomat and educationist wanted to bring about some reforms pertaining to the administration of the university. Here was the gentleman who was trying to purify the atmosphere of the university and was really out to make this university, a universal seat of learning, but was obstructed and impeded by a frenzied mob of misdirected and misconceited students with the connivance of some big bosses of the university. The Vice-Chancellor was almost beaten to death, but by God's grace survived the wrath of the angry students who left no stone unturned to go away with their sinister motives. The university was closed for many months and just imagine, how much loss was suffered by teachers and students both. Such acts of greatest magnitude are not limited to this university only but are spread country-wide. The recent happening in the campus of Banaras Hindu University over the issue of the change of the name of the university is another pointer about the role of students. Lucknow University is also suffering from the same malaise. The fact is that there are times in the year when the universities are closed and vice-chancellors bungalows locked.

After all to what this all will lead ? If things continue like [this and universities become the hot-bed of student

cipline and the platforms for expressing their anger indignation, rage and fury in the most violent means, all the crores which we are spending for the cause ducation in turn to improve the living conditions and se the image of our country in the eyes of the world, uld amount to misuse and drainage of money for no eful purpose. This must be stopped.

Now what is the cause of this effect? Many causes have led to this group indiscipline. For various reasons, under the foreign domination, acts of indiscipline become frequent, often necessitated by political activities which were launched against a foreign government. While we can justify to some extent for their indiscipline under different political conditions, at the same time we feel that there is no justification to continue such acts of gross mis-behaviour and mismanagement after the attainment of independence. Our country has adopted a democratic constitution which permits the redressing of grievances throu c means. It amounts to disrespect h acts of indiscipline remained to

vities such as Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, the National Cadet Corps, Junior Red Cross and other like institutions can go a long way to promote a proper spirit of discipline.

The second significant and important method of imbibing a disciplinary sense is Compulsory Military Training. It teaches the community of students all the norms of a healthy and disciplined society, which is the apex of our hopes and aspirations.

One blame is often showered upon students that they indulge in politics. Students must not take active part in politics and should try to avoid the vilifying speeches of political leaders but they must know the ABC of politics, if they really want to make a success of democracy which we have greatly cherished.

In the end, what I would like to emphasize is that right discipline can only be promoted if the staff also follows and observes strictly the codes of conduct. A teacher must remember that all his activities are being watched by his students. The very civilized behaviour of the staff will have a moralising effect upon the mass of the students who in turn are the very foundation of our country. The students form the very bed-rock of our future progress, prosperity and material splendour. As it is said, "as the tree is bent, so the tree will grow", is also true in the case of our students as they are the very reflection of the country's greatness. But for all this to accomplish we must have decent atmosphere in schools and colleges and also the high class quality of staff. That will only ensure the proper codes of conduct and the trends of discipline in our students.

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4. PLANNING FOR PEACE

War, as an instrument of settling inter-tribal and international disputes is as old as the world civilization itself. The great and the mighty, venturesome and colonial nations have spread their empires and dominated weaker nations through war. Wars in history have been fought not only to gain glory and greatness but also to spread their religious zeal, ideologies and philosophies. Wars in the pristine past, in the medieval and middle ages have always been associated with romance and adventure, chivalry and gallantry, heroism and valour, and the great epics of the world such as Ramayana and Mahabharata of the Orient and Homer, Iliad, have sung panegyrics to the glories won in war. In ancient times wars were not so destructive and devastating as to-day. Modern warfare is a horrible holocaust bringing death and destruction on enormous scale. Every country is stockpiling the latest lethal weapons of war and if this mad race in armament continues then this humanity is in a serious danger of being put to extinction.

So in the light of this grim experience, the whole world is striving to establish an order in which the war may be considered as an outlawry. Because the present warfare will toll the bell of total elimination of humanity from this globe. This is the most crucial question with which the whole world is confronted to-day. Various efforts have been mentioned to put an end to this mad race, which is a study in destruction. To establish peace is the only question before these Big Powers today. Various attempts have been made to put an end to this war business. The Hague Conferences of 1889 and 1907 failed in their objective to come to an agreement on the control of armaments. These efforts proved abortive and so the First World War started The magnitude of its destruction shocked and stunned all the peace-loving nations of the world. This violent outburst gave rise to the ill starred League of Nations. League of Nations was meant as an instrument or an arbiter in solving international disputes. But this world organization failed

to do justice. When Italy attacked Abbysinia, League of Nations failed to dub Italy as an aggressor. So was sounded its death-knell and this body also disappeared from the world scene.

The inevitable happened and so the World War II started. The scale of disaster and annihilation brought about by this war was bewilderingly horrible. The horror and terror which prevailed in those days again necessitated the idea of setting up a world forum for the maintenance of peace. The Axis Powers and Allied Powers fought a bitter war which brought in its trail diseases death, destruction, starvation, epidemics and untold poverty. The soul stirring butchery and crop of corpses was a terrible scene too difficult to be quoted in words. This war again put the peace of progress in a backward direction. From the period of progress there turned out a period of retrogress The afflicted countries began to move from an age of plenty to an age of scarcity. The industrial capitalism received a serious setback. The whole cycle of progress began to retard. The untold misery, distrust and despair, despondency and sadness created by this mighty and massive confrontation compelled the rulers and leaders again to think of and work for peace. This led to the formation of U N O. All these endeavours from the beginning of this century to the most modern times by peoples were meant to make *earnest efforts to establish peace in the world.*

But the question arises, do all the establishments of peace really trying to put an end to this wishful thinking ? Is it really possible to abolish war and establish peace on a permanent basis ? Will the U N O. succeed in its holy mission or meet the fate of League of Nations ? It is a fact, neverthless, that U.N.O. is an *improvement* over the League of Nations in various respects ; that it is an almost world body comprising of the nations who are victors as well as vanquished ; it has a right to demand force from its member-nations and to use to force its decisions. But the history of its

about twenty years of existence is a dismal record of failures and favours heaped on its own countries of interest. Soon after this august body was created, there was a chain of aggression, beginning with Red China's attack on Korea and Pakistan invasion over Kashmir, with Laos muddle, Congo debacle, Suez crisis, Hungarian question, Vietnam issue down to the most recent conflicts and confrontations between India and Pakistan in Sept. 1965, and many other parallel issues. U.N.O. has been unable to set right even a single of these most troubled spots on the earth. U.N.O. as it stands to-day is simply a pawn in the hands of Big Powers to further their own interests. It is a chess-board of power politics dominated by the European Powers.

This sorry state of affairs has led to the creation of two blocs, one Russian bloc and the other Anglo-American bloc. There is going on a sort of verbal duel between these two rival ideological groups and each one is trying to dominate the other. This sort of cold war has again led to the race in armaments which in turn endangers the very security and stability of the nations of the world. These two monstrous powers pose a serious threat to the survival of mankind. Peace has been jeopardized. U.N.O. has become a laughing stock of the whole world. It has been and is as ineffective as ever.

But some political scientists and philosophers are of opinion that peace can be established on this earth if there is the establishment of an international authority. But this international order seems to be a Utopian plan, because the world may seem as an entity but, politically, economically, socially, culturally, ethnically, religiously and historically it cannot be one in the predictable future. Because nationalism is a dominating force in the countries and it is not going to compromise with the way of life of other countries whose political systems still smack of imperialism and colonialism. The other implication which stands in the way of this world authority is that all countries want

to be free, there should be no domination of the stronger countries over the weak as it will create frictions etc. So this idea of an international order is quite remote and unpracticable.

But it is a sad commentary on the rulers and leaders of modern times that during the last few years the symptoms of cold war have increased tremendously and war-minded mentalities are in each of the power blocs think in terms of causing damage and destruction to the rival group. The ever-widening gap between communism and capitalism has made mankind stand on the brink of ruin. The mad race in [illegible] is alarming. [illegible] USA did her [illegible] East and thus [illegible] Vacuum Theory' and was stated by the then American President Mr. Eisenhower. Military pacts like M.E.D.O., N.A.T.O.; S.E.A.T.O; C.E.N.T.O.; and Baghdad Pact etc. have mushroomed up like anything.

But the question arises, are all the military pacts for really averting the chances of war? No! Because peace must spring from the heart of man and there is no other source from where it is to come. The creation of military pacts and power groups have simply accelerated the war mentality as almost every country of the world is filling her armouries. The world really stands at the cross-roads. With the World Powers in the possession of deadly weapons of war, long-range artillery, U-boats, sub-marines and anti-submarines, rockets and Sputnik and what not, the possibility of human extinction is there. And if these mighty nations pull the trigger and start a cataclysm of great magnitude, then there will be really death ruling over the whole world. Modern war is an intricate business. It destroys the victor as well as the vanquished. "It is the greatest plague that can afflict humanity", says Martin Luther but he does not stop here and has to say further, "It destroys religion, it destroys states, it destroys families. Any scourge is preferable to it."

So, if nations of the world want to live in peace, amity and communal harmony, then they will have to shun the narrow walls of race, creed and religion, and rather work for the unity and goodwill of mankind. The universality of thought and brotherhood of man should be our only watchword. No interference, aggressions and involvements into the affairs and territories of other nations should be made. Mutual respect and international understanding should be promoted through the agency of U.N.O—the only ray of hope before whole mankind. We shall have to choose between the two—war or peace The former one we can hardly afford because of its monstrous sceptre, i.e. it is the essence of violation. Moreover it cannot bring any victory and if it is any, it will be the victory of the dying over the dead. So peace is the only beacon hope which can light the dim hearts of the world. As peace is pleasure, profit and prosperity, the very summum bonum of humanity.

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5. POSSIBILITIES OF WORLD WAR III

Or

IS THIRD WORLD WAR INEVITABLE?

That World War III is possible or not cannot be answered momentarily. An astrological predictor may tell this. But for an average man this question is complex and demands a diligent review of the entire gamut of world politics. After the end of World War II, this world have witnessed some of the most crisis-ridden periods and other grave political issues but until now, thanks to God, this orgy of violence and vehemence has remained away from the humanity. There have been incidents of great and grave nature, here and there, but with the intervention of a third party or with the surrender of one country before its rival, the chances of war have been averted. The Korean crisis of early fifties could have led to world conflagration Even the savage suppression and violation of human rights in Tibet by the merciless marauding

[illegible]

hot spot, where any major wrong step by any of the two world great powers, would have brought global calamity. Berlin question is still a hellish volcano, which can erupt any moment. The Suez Crisis of 1956, when U. K. and [illegible]

recent Indo-Pak confrontation and the almost chronic Vietnam issue, which could have spelled disaster and destruction on an enormous scale

The dark and dreary clouds of war have not faded from the horizons of world politics. During the last twenty years, the tergiversations in world politics are of marked nature. The emergence in the post-World War II period, of the two great power blocs, with conflicting ideologies and confounding political systems, represented by Russia and America, have certainly aggravated and provoked world peace. The mad race of armament and the proliferation of destructive weapons of war by both the rival groups have certainly enhanced the prospects of an impending deluge which in the words of Albert Einstein 'would sound the death-knell of human civilization.' He further averred, when asked about the type of weapons that will be used in World War III, "I do not know about the weapons of World War III. But I know what the weapons of World War IV will be—rocks and stones and arrows." This is the remark of a renowned scientist and author of 'The Theory of Relativity.'

[illegible] between [illegible] count- [illegible] 62 was

not only an act of aggression over India but over all the democratic countries This Red imperialism has posed a menace not only to the freedom of Asia but to the freedom and democracy of the whole world. The Chinese dragon is out to take into her clutches many countries of Asia and Africa. America's reaction over this dangerous development is but natural and no one knows, when the American missiles and sabres start bombing the mainland of China, the real villain of peace, nowadays. Pakistan has always been blowing hot and cold towards India and has been persistently indulging in activities as are dangerous to the security and stability of India. The just ended war between India and Pakistan might have escalated to world war. The Vietnam is the most burning topic of the time and the inhuman bombing of its towns and cities during the last many years, have made this country not only a cockpit of cold war but also a hellish state with its people constantly in awe, dread and fear of the constant bombing raids.

The role of Soviet Union for the maintenance of world peace is unwarrantedly laudatory. U.S.S.R. has dissolved Cominform, has repudiated Stalinism and the power and glory enjoyed in Khruschevian era and the present peaceful regime of Kosygin—all these developments have advanced the pace of world peace. U.S.S.R's desire for peaceful co-existence, reduction in armaments, offer of a ban on nuclear weapons and tests and other like acts have raised the stature of Soviet Russia in the vortex of world politics.

The profound wisdom and superb statesmanship shown by Khruschev on the Cuban crisis, when U.S.A. under the leadership of John F. Kennedy was out to scuttle the Russian submarines the moment they entered Carribean waters, by withdrawing Russian military paraphernalia from that region saved the world from an impending annihilation.

The creation of military pacts like N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O., C.E.N.T.O, and M.E.D.O. in the Middle E

in accordance with Eisenhower's 'power v cuum theory" have further endangered and jeopardised the chances of peace. In Middle East, two power blocs manoeuvre for positions. Eisenhower endeavoured to undermine Arab nationalism by the creation of M.E.D.O. The trouble and turmoil experienced by Lebanon and Jordan and the

territory, adds to the already strained relations between the two countries The recent military adventure between India and Pakistan resulted in the cease fire by the interference of U.N.O. The Tashkent Declaration gives some hope of improving and normalising relations between the two countries. But the very declaration and different interpretations given to Tashkent deliberations, by the press and leaders of Pakistan have simply confirmed the doubts of those in India who regard Tashkent pact as a temporary interlude of peace between the two countries.

If this world really wants to avert tragedy and terror, horror and humiliation of a third world war, then the whole world will have to strive to respect each other's territorial integrity and create international understanding and goodwill among world nations. The balance of power kept and maintained by the two great world powers has also to some extent proved a deterrent to global deluge.

Thus the possibility of a World War III cannot be altogether ruled out, when we have before us a seething and broiling forest of world politics and each ideology is striving to supersede the other. Vietnam is one of the most hot trouble spots to-day. Any wrong step by any power may escalate the war But the coming closer of Russia and U. S. A. in the recent years has quite

reased the bitterness of relations between the two The Sino-Soviet rift has also brought Russia closer to U. S. A. and now both these powers want to foil th- sinister designs of Mao's China, which is becoming a major headache to the world. Let sanity descend upon the rulers of China, and help save the world from the looming holocaust which will engulf in its flames the entire world. The third World War will be disastrous for the victors as well as for the vanquished. War cannot bring any victory in the present world of A-Bombs and H-Bombs. If there is one it will be the victory of the dying over the dead.

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6. MY AMBITION
OR
MY AMBITION IN LIFE

As it is said by someone that it is better to have a bad purpose than no purpose at all. So is true with the lives of human beings. A person who is just leading his life aimlessly. purposelessly and unambitiously is simply deceiving and deluding himself. It is really the purpose alone which gives life meaning. Life without ambition is just a letter without address and a ship who is voyaging in this fathomless ocean without knowing its destination.

Everyone is capable of enjoying by himself a sort of dream existence, subject to limitations of environment, education and culture. A child playing with his toy may be believing himself to be a general engaged in a shooting war. A labourer dwelling in his hut may be imagining of possessing a palatial palace. A pedestrian going bare-footed may be dreaming of possessing a car. Rather every man wants to climb the rungs higher and higher. Star-gazing is thus a part of human nature. Combined with a seriousness of purpose, this very trait of human nature is known as ambition. Persons who had their ambitions realy achieved in their lives answer to the people who say that it is no good having an ambition.

Different men have different ambitions. While one likes to attain the Everestine heights in politics by becoming a Prime Minister, others would like to get a place in the galaxy of renowned poets. One likes to be an administrator, while the other has his ambition to become an artist. One would like to be a globe-trotter while the other wants to defend his country even if it meant undergoing all the perils, troubles and hardships. But let it be remembered that ambition without any sense of proportion may prove a dangerous thing.

Every great man who has achieved the dizzy heights of his determined ideas, had to work hardly and persistently. The ideals and ideas of all the men of outstanding fame and renown have been achieved after great strivings and endeavours. There is no leaven of doubt that it has to pay the price of his ambition, sometimes very dearly like the mighty Julius Caesar, the dictatorial Mussolini, the expansionist Hitler, and also the over-ambitious Macbeth.

But for my own part, I too have an ambition, subject to my own limitations My ambition is to become a scientist.

Morever my ambition is quite in accordance with the needs of the time. India, a country which has risen from the long slumber of slavery and foreign subjection, cannot be ranked among the major countries of the world, until and unless she is scientifically and technologically advanced Scientists are the very gems of a nation, especially in this age of science By becoming a scientist, I would devise such instruments and contrivances as are useful in the daily life of the nation. As a scientist I would give the top priority to agriculture and industry as these two form the very base of our country's prosperity and progress I would engross myself in the top research programmes which would help agricultural and industrial output. The role which a scientist has to play in transforming the very face of this under-developed country will be unique, spectacular and most significant.

A scientist not merely contributes to increase the material splendour of his country and to take his country on the apex of modern science, but also contributes to the cause of world peace, a cause which is of great universal interest. By becoming a scientist, I will not be removing only the drudgery of life, the appalling poverty, the industrial backwardness, but I would be contributing goodly and greatly in elevating the image of India in the horizons of world science.

Science, in modern times, is the very life breath of a nation. It is the Messiah of the modern world. It is the harbinger of the kingdom of God on earth. It promises to remove the islands of economic and industrial backwardness, will boost the productive powers of the country in every field and thus would raise the standard of living of the entire nation. As a scientist my devotion would be to channelize my energies for the greatest good of humanity, for the constructive aspects of human beings and would not resort to the perverted trends of bringing destruction and death to humanity as is evident from the role which modern science played over the two ill-fated and the ill-starred cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

A scientist is the very boon for and backbone of the country. He is the pillar of its progress in the present day world of science and profound technology. A scientist has the capability and capacity to work like this as to bring about an economic elevation, a scientific revolution for the social regeneration of my country, nay, the whole world. A scientist is one of the most important architects of modern India. He is also the great hope of the nation because it is a fact, universally acknowledged in modern times that a scientist is alone capable of bringing the country on the scientific map of the world. Moreover, science has become the status symbol these days. A country is a Big Power, only, if it is well advanced in the field of science and technology; if not, that country is dubbed as backward and under-developed.

But it must be clear that we must be modest and reasonable in our aspirations. Flying too high in the world of imagination is not proper. No doubt imagination is more important than knowledge. But our imagination should be within limits and proportions. Everyone, in his life, has a purpose, a plan of becoming something. Nowadays every student has his ambition to become a doctor or an engineer apart from other professions.

A short but purposeful life is certainly better than a long but purposeless life. Just trotting aimlessly over this world stage does not behove men. Otherwise there is no difference between human life and animal life. The very glow of ambition proves as a spur in the fulfilment of our cherished ideals.

As a great thinker has said that man is the maker of his own fortune. Character is destiny. A man gets what he does If he has before him any ambition, he must strive to achieve it. Steadfast determination *translates into reality our ambitious projects. Thus my* ambition of becoming a scientist is not a remote thing. It requires sustained efforts in that direction Everything would be achieved Of course, so much would depend on the very nature of one's ambition and the means one adopts to realize it.

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7. CAREERS OPEN TO WOMEN IN INDIA

The choosing of a career for girls has been a subject of good and great discussion and the educationists front-ranking academicians and other luminaries of intrinsic intellect and understanding have propounded from time to time in favour of women joining all the fields of human activity. Moreover on the attainment of independence, Indian women challenged the men for giving them the stigma of a weak not so intelligent and traditionally backward sex. But if we perceive the entire panorama of the women of India, we come home to believe that

they have gone beyond our expectations. They have entered into almost all the departments of human activity like education, politics, journalism, science, public administration, law and medical profession. Their working in their respective departments was noted among others as a highly splendid performance sometimes excelling males even.

The women of to-day stand in a striking contrast to the women in the past, when they were steeped into the cobwebs of custom and conventions of the times, were considered to be a breeding machine and household drudger, only pictures to be kept in the four walls of the house and living perpetually under the customary 'purdah'. Twentieth century and the century preceding it experienced a spectacle of emancipation of world womanhood from their old, obsolete and effete custom-ridden society. Today Indian women are advancing their natural faculties in innumerable subjects. They study history, philosophy. political science, social education, psychology sciences, mathematics, arts and all other subjects. So, in this case they can choose any profession of their interest. We see women, to day, as doctors, professors, administrators, politicians, mathematicians, scientists and artists. What to speak of their commendable contribution in the realm of education, they have crossed all other barriers. hitherto considered difficult for this sex, beyond imagination.

A glaring galaxy of Indian women like Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Sarojini Naidu, Padmaja Naidu, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Mrs. Indira Ghandhi, Dr Sushila Nayyar, has shown their worth and calibre in their respective departments with amazing success. We can also remember the name of Lilawati with reference to her study in astronomy Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit carries the credit of becoming President of the U.N.O. Never in the history of the world has ever been a woman President of that world great body like U.N.O. or later on as India's High Commissioner in the United Kingdom, or a

Minister in the Central Government like the late Shrimati Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, or a Governor of a state like Sarojini Naidu, or a Chief Minister like Sucheta Kripalani. To the orthodox mind, who is opposed to women joining office, is living in the world of his own *imagination, a world which in the present times is a dead*, dull and drab world having outlast its utility and necessity.

The part played by some of Indian women like Mrs. Violet Alva, Dr. Annie Besant during the struggle for independence from foreign thraldom is unique and spectacular. The national movement was surcharged with the sentiments and emotions of some of the women of India.

The vast and wide field open to women of India for choosing their career has really provided the country with some of the best minds and talents, which are of a great use to our country. Now, they have joined even Engineering Colleges and are emerging out as engineers, technologists and scientists. In Mrs. Indira Gandhi, our country has got an astute politician, a wise statesman, a great social reformer, and above all an expert on the problems which Indian women are facing to-day. Her stay as Minister for Information and Broadcasting was of great significance because she changed the very plexus of publicity and information from its old lines and renewed the ministry with more uptodate paraphernalia

The Indian womankind has awakened from its past slumber and is no longer the slave of man. Our constitution makes no distinction on sex. Women are granted the same rights as men. This enables them to enter the field of their interest and intelligence. Some have fought elections and are members of Legislative Assemblies, Members of Parliament. There are women Magistrates and Deputy Commissioners. They are I.A.S. as well.

All this points to the fact that there is no particular field meant for a woman. Indian women are com-

She also clamoured for the implementation of Geneva Agreement on Indo-China, and desires for holding of peaceful elections to unify both Vietnams. Apart from this our late Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri deadly denounced the savage American bombing on Vietnamese.

In order to make the prospects of world peace more bright, she has rightly demanded a ban a nuclear explosions and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons; which alone, she suggested, can lead to world disarmament. Her role in admitting the 16 countries (popularly known as Package Deal) in U.N.O. is well known. Had U.N.O. admitted India's proposal of not sending U.N. forces across the 38th parallel, the Korean conflagration would have ended much earlier. India is also opposed to the formation of regional alliances and military pacts because, according to her, these increase the chances of a global conflict.

India has been treading on the path of non-alignment. She is neither a member of Soviet Bloc nor of Anglo-American group. It is why she condemned in no less terms the British invasion of Suez as well as Russian intervention in Hungary. She vehemently criticized the holding of elections in Hungary under U.N. supervision, for it would have seriously undermined the sovereignty of Hungary. She also agreed to the induction of United Nations Emergency Forces, only when Egypt was willing to approve it. Thus the part played by India, in the Suez canal crisis despite British pressure, confirmed her a really neutral nation. The very non-aligned character of our nation won for her plaudits from the whole world and continues to be friendly and cordial towards both the world power groupings.

The superb and sane performance displayed by Indian delegation on the floor of U.N.O. and its subsidiary organizations like the I.L.O., U.N.E.S.C.O., F.A.O., W.H.O., I.M.F., etc is still resounding with dignity, profound idealism and wise statesmanship. India, having

no ill-will, malice or rancour to any other country, approaches to world problems dispassionately, disinterestedly in a most constructive way. It is her ardent desire to ease world tension and bring about an atmosphere of peace and sanity in the whole world which is well evident from the role she played as a chairman of Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission on Laos crisis. She also kept the belligerents off during the crucial and critical days of Formosan tangle and Lebanon muddle. The farsightedness of our leadership was also well known when India sent her forces in Congo under U.N. auspices in order to bring about peace in the Congo.

She is opposed to the supply of guided missiles and other nuclear weapons to the Afro-Asian countries, for it would endanger world peace and stability. She strongly favours the signing of a Non-Aggression Pact between Russia and the Western Powers.

Her approval of summoning a Summit Conference for resolving the deadlock on disarmament and also for finding co-operative solutions in order to bring about the unification of Germany, Indo-China and Korea is an ample testimony of the appreciation of her role as an honest and dependable friend as well as a champion of freedom and angel of peace in the whole world.

Apart from this glaring role which India has played nobly and courageously in the vortex of world politics, there have been some faux pas here and there. We were silent when the heavenly abode of Tibet was grabbed by communist China in the early fifties. This role of India being silent spectotor over Tibetan issue also led to the Chinese onslaught over India in 1962. The massive military invasion by Red China over the sacred soil of India shocked and stunned the conscience of freedom and peace-loving humanity. China not only stabbed India in the back but proved to be a blatantly perfidious and insidious nation who flouted the principles of Panchshila in spite of the fact that she was a signatory to it. But India agreed to a cease fire proposal and also accepted

the Colombo proposals in toto in order to bring about an era and atmosphere of peace but China rejected it. Since then China has always been blowing hot and cold towards India and keeps an atmosphere of tension. India had als to face Pakistan, when the latter launched an aggression on India in September, 1965. Pakistan forces crossed the International boundary in Jammu and Kashmir and thus was the first to attack upon In ia without any provocation by India. India has always felt it to maintain friendly and peaceful relations with Pakistan. but Pakistan's anti Indian campaign continued and insisted for a settlement on Kashmir, which is an integral part of our country. The armed conflict between India and Pakistan continued for 23 days and with the intervention of U.N, both the countries agreed to a cease fire. As India has been an arch champion of peace, she also agreed to attend the Tashkent conference sponsored by Russia in order to bring about a peaceful settlement between the two countries. India signed the Tashkent Declaration. While India has honestly implemented in letter and spirit the Tashkent Declaration, Pakistan's ministers are still making wild rantings against India and continue to pour venom and vitriol upon India Rawalpindi's tactics are not in accordance with Taskent spirit.

With all this before us, India has never lagged behind in so far as the maintenance of world peace is concerned. We no doubt are non-aligned, but non-alignment has never obstructed us to help and support the progressive, humanitarian and equalitarian forces of the world. We have adopted the path of truth. This would certainly make India one day a great country in the eyes of the whole world.

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8. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

The Community Development Projects Programme sponsored in India is a people's movement assisted by Government, towards the promotion of a fuller and happier life. This project as defined and outlined in

the Five-Year Plans of the Government of India envisages *the fullest development of material and human resources* in the different rural areas of the country. This project of Community Development was launched with a great hope and optimism in order to erect the picture of rural India on modern lines. The villages of India usually remained [illegible] of nationa[illegible] fact dema[illegible] their government so as to bring them on a superior level of existence, economic and cultural. To achieve this purpose, the Planning Commission has undertaken [illegible]

If we really want to make India an India of Gandhiji's dreams and conception, a welfare state, an advanced and progressive nation in this world, we shall have to endeavour to lead the villages from their abyss of [illegible]t and know- [illegible] for Commu- [illegible] look after, advise and implement the aims and objectives of this programme.

The fundamental concept of Community Development Programme is that the main motive force for its implementation must come from the people themselves and that the vast unutilized energies lying dormant in the countryside should be harnessed for constructive work on the co-operative principle. The entire development work of the village has been centralised, and entrusted to one organization for implementing the decisions quickly.

This programme undertakes to develop a selected group of villages into a closely integrated rural community, equipped with the minimum amenities of modern life. To uplift the under developed villages, it aims to provide the surface or tube-wells or tanks for drinking water and adequate drainage facilities It also aims to have

pronounced emphasis on agricultural production to be supplemented hy works in the sphere of health, education and other constructive activities. The programme also strives for providing sanitary services, provision for irrigation, development of housing sites as well as forests for fuel. Construction of roads, primary education and adult education have also been undertaken by this scheme. The Ford Foundation of U.S.A. has also sponsored training centres for educating the respective village workers. Recreation centres and development of cottage industries also form a part of the Community Development programme.

The Community Projects were launched all over India on October 2, 1952, the birth anniversary of Gandhiji. No wastage of manual energy is done. The labour potential of every one is utilized and employed so that the creative faclties of people do not go waste. Later on in 1953, the Community Projects were merged in a wider scheme known as National Extension Service.

The Community Development programme has the lofty objective of increasing the agricultural output by every possible means. The second objective is to tackle the problem of unemployment in the rural areas and also to improve the village communications. To foster primary education and to promote indigenous handicrafts are the other objectives of this programme.

The success and progress of this programme is reported to have been encouraging and co operation extended by the public is tremendous On the other hand, Government always stand by to offer guidance and also to provide a considerable measure of assistance—technical as well as financial, for the execution of development work.

This scheme, if faithfully implemented, properly handled and systematically planned, can bring the Government and the people together in the monumental task of building and constructing a new India, an awakened

India. We are passing through an age of transition and nation-building. Independence opened before us a pandora's box of problems But to ameliorate the lot of teeming millions inhabiting the villages of our country was one of the primary tasks before the Government. A modern India cannot be crystallized. until we upgrade and elevate the village life, who form the highest percentage of our country's population.

The planners and the schemers in the sphere of Community Development Projects are very much alert and enthusiastic to make it a mass movement for the betterment of their own lot. It the whole operation of this great transformation continues, then there is no iota of doubt that we are on the threshold of progress, and prosperity. The programme no doubt is challenging, but the persistent efforts shown by our people in this task of transformation have left us to draw our conclusions optimistically.

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9. THE PROGRESS OF ECONOMIC PLANNING IN FREE INDIA

From its primeval origin the Indian nationalism laid a greater stress and emphasis on the socio economic structure of the country. Throughout the crucial days of struggle for Indian independence, Indian leaders had in mind to overcome the mass appalling poverty and to reconstruct the entire fabric of India's social and economic life on sound lines and firm footing. The pre independence era was an age of economic exploitation and social degeneration. The British mind for well-known reasons robbed the country of its abundant potentialities and economic resources, made it economically bankrupt and gave it the stigma of a backward nation. Our poverty, in fact, is the affluence of Britishers.

Thus after independence, the Indian leadership devised ways and means so that India may progress, her people feel happy and exalted and the state of poverty be converted into a material opulence. Free India has to bring the

economic equality otherwise the freedom may prove a fraud. Our constitution enshrines the basic objective set forth in the Directive Principles of State Policy. One of the principles states the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting, as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of national life." The guiding stars of India's planned development have two main aims to build up a rapidly expanding and technologically progressive economy through democratic system and a social order based on justice as well as offering equal opportunity to every citizen.

In a democratic country, the progress in every field is done slowly but surely. To bring about a radical change in a society which was steeped in the customs and conventions, traditions and traits of the past was a difficult task To achieve this objective by the consent of the people and in a peaceful way all the more made the task arduous.

Independence opened before us a Pandora's box of problems. Planning on national scale was felt as the most indispensable effort. Without a systematic planning the country cannot progress. To achieve this, a Planning Commission consisting of experts, economists and others was set up to advise and guide regarding the projects to be launched for the development of the country. A greater need was felt to harness the energies of the people to the tasks of national development. Planned development became the means for achieving with great speed, a high rate of growth and reconstructing the institutions of economic and social importance.

Five-Year Plans were pruned and perfected in order to provide sound foundations for sustained economic growth, for increasing opportunities for gainful employment as well as ameliorating the working conditions of the masses and also to raise their standard of living. India, predominantly an agricultural country, gave a special impetus to

agriculture. Agriculture, as a matter of fact, forms the very base of Indian economy. But agriculture and other advancement of human resources rest upon the advancement of industry. Industry provides better tools to farmers which not only increases the efficiency of agriculturists and their output but also changes the mental make-up of the peasant. So industry and agriculture should be regarded as the integral parts of the same development and, through a systematic and pragmatic planning, the growth of industry has to be succeeded and the pace of economic progress also accelerated at the same time. Big industry including heavy and machine making industry have to be developed. The expansion of public sector as well as growth of co-operative units should be encouraged. State trading has also to be increased keeping in view the needs of economy.

Apart from this village and small industries have a crucial role in the development of national economy. The benefit of these projects is that first they are easy to handle and control. Secondly they yield fruit in less time and thus more profitable for the country. Such projects must be encouraged and helped by government. Within the frame of development, co operation is necessarily to become the principal basis of organization in several departments of economic life, particularly, in the small industry, agriculture, etc Small projects, besides providing consumer and other goods and large scale employment opportunities, also ensure an [illegible] ational income and [illegible] 'e resources in man[illegible] should creep into [illegible] evelopment in different regions have to be steadily reduced and the fruits of industrialisation spread evenly all over the country. Less developed areas must be provided intensive development schemes with the growth of economy.

As ours is a socialist pattern of society, strong care must be taken to ensure help and assistance to the general run of humanity and to serve the interest of the community as a whole should be the basic objective.

It is a sad fact to hear our leaders say that rich is becoming richer and poor becoming poorer. It is a queer enigma of modern economy. A paradox, understandable ! When the gap between the rich and the poor is widened and widened, then there must be something wrong at the bottom. Our planners and economists must find the malaise in our planning. We should do away with bulky and lop-sided planning. Ours should not be a merely doctrinaire approach. Planning should be realistic and pragmatic.

Our Five-Year Plans have a basic objective that, through democracy and intensive public participation, development along the lines of democratic socialism will ensure a rapid economic growth and expansion of employment as well as equitable distribution, rationalisation in income and wealth, also prevention of concentration of economic power and the persistent efforts to create a free, equal and rational society.

The economic position of India of 1966 is certainly better than the India of 1947. These nineteen years have witnessed the growth of Indian economy, establishment of innumerable projects and other development schemes with a gradual rise in national income. In a socialist economy, every citizen should be ensured with equality of oppor tunity. Also a socialist economy must be efficient, progres sive in its bid to expand science and technology. It mus provide all the bare necessities of life, in particular, foo clothing, housing, educational opportunities, reasonab conditions of health and sanitation, and a level of income which makes a living tolerable and just. And finally, Indian socialist economy really wants to do justice to vast and varied multitudes of humanity living in abysn poverty and squalor, as negelected, insulted, suppres and ruined by men, either out of scorn or ignorar indifference or incapacity, if the Indian people are to f a full scope for the accomplishment and fulfilment of t pent up urges of head and heart, then the only solu for her is to build a new social and economic platf shorn of economic, social and political gradations;

distinctions of rich and poor, high and low. As Congress Manifesto states, "Men should be judged by their labour, their productive and creative efforts and their service to society and humanity. Old ideas about privileges on the basis of birth or caste or class or money or hierarchy of office should be discarded." If we fail to adopt and implement the above saying, then the progress of Indian economic planning is bound to hamper.

Thus economic planning is a virulent movement to achieve our desired goal and aspirations The progress of our economy means the elevation of living standard of Indian masses. Masses too contribute by their protracted endeavours and hard work in the reservoir of national economy. We are on the threshold of the economic independence and to achieve this goal fully we are to work with courage and enterprise, with endurance and capacity, with dedication and devotion Because in the words of Pt. Nehru, "Political independence has no meaning withont economic independence."

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10. NECESSITY OF FAMILY PLANNING IN INDIA

Family planning is another puzzling and vexatious problem with which India is confronted to day. The alarming increase in population during the last few decades has created many other problems. The problem of unemployment, of poverty, illiteracy, and food crises are the natural corollaries coming out of the over-population. In 1901, the population of India was 23 crores, while the 1951 sensus gave the figure of 36 crores. It further rose to 43 crores in 1961, and the forecast for 1971 in 53 crores and 56 crores in 1976. What this increase in number signifies? Why is it only increasing in India at such a great pace while the Western countries are almost static in so far as the population is concerned?

The answer to these *questions automatically* comes. The befitting answer is that all such *conditions* as are

necessary for the human multiplication of numbers exist in our country. In India, the sex ratio is perhaps highest the world over—947 women for every 1000 men. And so is our marriage ratio. Out of every 100 women in India, 94 are married; while the corresponding figure is only 63·8 in U.K., 71 in W. Germany, 74·2 in U S.A.; and 67 in France. There is also a decrease of widowhood. Out of every 100, there were 16.1 widows in 1931 while the figure dropped to 12 8 in 1952. Another factor which also helps in the increase of population is the institution of child marriage. 14% of the girls in the age-group of 5-14 are married before the age of 14, *i.e.* the moment the puberty is reached, the production is started. The process of production goes on until it naturally stops. As a matter of fact, human fecundity never goes waste in India. Indian women are married early and continue the breeding process until the fecundity is exhausted. Moreover, the death rate has also gone down because of the improved health conditions and better sanitation facilities. Death rate has fallen from 46 8 (per thousand) in 1901 to 20·9 (per thousand) in 1951 and the 1961 Census still lowers the figure.

This ever-increasing march of numbers has upset the calculations of our planners and economists and agriculturists. With more mouths to feed every minute, it is a problem to provide them with the foodstuff. Our food output is not increasing as efficiently and regularly as our population is Our food production in 1950 was 58 million tons but India had to import 2.5 million tons for the minimum subsistence. While the food output increased from 58 million tons to 63 million tons, India had to import still more 3·1 million tons to maintain the same level for minimum subsistence. And to import 3·1 million tons of food, we require foreign exchange to the tune of Rs 150 crores. A diligent study made by Ford Foundation study team revealed in its report that production should rise to 110 million tons in 1965 66, to provide for the increasing population. These figures have revealed how population affects and neutralizes the food production.

Now take the case of employment. It is a paradox of modern times that as we are progressing in every field of human activity, we are more and more confronted with the problems. Our population is increasing at the rate of more than 5 million annually. With this occurs a two-million addition to the labour force every year. This has really riddled the problem of unemployment Instead problems should solve with the passage of time they multiply. At the end of Second Plan, there were 5 million unemployed, after the Second Plan, the unemployed are to the tune of 8 millions. What is the reason of all this deterioration in our every field of activity? It is a strange economics. It appears an increasing population is aggravating our problems and deteriorating them almost on every front, food, employment, accommodation, transport education and what not All our economic adventures and endeavours are wasted only to nullify or neutralize the effect of population explosion. This is the basic tragedy of our economic programme. As we are formulating Five-Year Plans, one after another, we are at a loss what to do.

All this points out that the population of the country must be checked otherwise this population explosion will create a hornet's nest for us. All our ambitious projects of planned economic development to flower the physical and mental health of the people will prove incongruous and infructuous unless the annual addition in population is checked This again necessitates for a planned parenthood. for a rational family. This will not only cure the ills afflicting our economy but also provide the parents with better opportunities and facilities to bring up their children in a healthy and happy way. At the same time, this great step of checking population will make the mothers more healthy and their children will enjoy and study in a better atmosphere.

It is why the family planning scheme has been launched with much fanfare in our country. Family planning centres, child welfare centres and other allied institu-

tions are opened almost everywhere. There is a network of family planning centres in our country which are engaged in the national task of checking increase in population. The process also involves the training facilities to villagers in this method, providing the village folk with all such appliances and contrivances as are deemed necessary. This programme will meet a resounding success if the family planners develop a confidence in the people by making them healthy, happy and physically fit. Once this programme is accepted and harms least the social structure and functional relationship of the man and his milieu, then there would be no difficulty and problem of population explosion.

A sum of Rs. 50 crores was envisaged for family planning during the Third Plan Period. It provides for education and motivation for family planning: provision of services, training, supplies, demographic research etc.

So if India is to really reach the pinnacle of progress and self-sufficiency in food and economic independence, there is an ardent necessity for family planning. The Fourth Plan has also earmarked a good sum for this campaign.

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11. FOOD PROBLEM

India predominantly is an agricultural country. But despite this, our country at the present time has been afflicted by one of the worst droughts in recent history. Unlike previous years not only was there a total deficiency of rainfall over the moonsoon period, but the rains failed during the critical period, when crops were reaching maturity. Consequently, the yield of the crops has been seriously affected. This situation has led to a grave food crisis in our country. The States which have been worst hit are Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore and parts of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa. This scarcity of food led to acts of violence and vehemence, arson, loot and destruction of Government property and

public property. The recent melodramatic scenes witnessed in Kerala and Bengal have pointed out how grave and serious is the magnitude of food problem. While we blame nature for all such calamities, at the same time, we also are somewhat party to it.

That we are still importing food grains, after undergoing 18 years of independence and three Five-Year Plans, let it be realized that we have to face a still larger population with an additional 7 5 crores in the next five years. What then is the reason of our shortages in food ? While an overwhelming majority of our country's people resort to agriculture, and even then we are not self-sufficient in food, points to the fact that there is some seriously wrong at the bottom These wrongs will have to be rectified, earlier the better.

The food problem has to be tackled, first, by increasing per acre yield of any crop—food or non-food—by the application of modern technology. We say, the country is not fully equipped with that much technical know-how as to provide all the farmers of our land. But we must supply it to as many as we can. We must concentrate all our efforts on most suitable land with assured water supply, with hybrid seeds which give us a return of 600% to 1500% increase. This, of course, is not possible without chemical fertilizers and proper care of the crops by spraying.

To give this a practical shape, the State Governments have decided that in this scarcity the works to be started should be such as to provide permanent assets and improve agricultural production in the areas, With this end in view, medium and minor irrigation, soil conservation, afforestation works etc. are being taken up to the extent possible. Three Central teams headed by the Programme Adviser of the Planning Commission have been touring the affected States with a view to surveying on the spot conditions and advising the State and Central Governments of the measures necessary to provide relief. About 20 lakh persons are already

employed on scarcity works. But there must be an improvement in agriculture. We should give respectability to Jowar, Bajra and Potato as a substitute for imported food as these could be incre sed manifold per acre.

The wastage in food grains must be avoided by conserving them in stores, avoding all losses in transport and developing a 'waste consciousness' at all leve s ; so that the food that is now wasted would be available for millions who are hungry and millions others who are hungry on account of exorbitant prices. Though the rice deficit is marginal, but even then it is creating a great difficulty in the rice eating areas, because the food problem which exists in South India is mainly on account of non-availability of rice at reasonable prices.

To reduce burden on cereals etc subsidiary food like fi h, meat and vegetables will have to be produced on a larger scale and better marketed and available at reasonable prices.

All such man-made crises in food should stop immediately. The artificial shortages created on account of the bottlenecks of transport, milling and want of rational policies which exaggerate the deficits and prevent the surplus from filling the gap in time should not be allowed to happen.

The problem of food in India at present is the problem of deficit States. And, oddly enough, it is the economically advanced States like Kerala, Maharashtra, Gujarat and West Bengal that are facing the deficits. These deficit states would have to be compensated by the surplus States.

In a country like India, which has to face abnormal monsoon conditions in every two out of the five years and with an ever-increasing population growing at the rate of 24000 new mouths per day and the craze for better standards of living, it is necessary to ensure a minimum buffer stock. Even some western countries like Germany, Norway and Switzerland have buffer stocks

maintained under their constitution itself; and U.S.A. has enough buffer stock of wheat to feed the people of the world for one year.

Our food shortage is reported to be 5%. It was during the days when Shri K. M. Munshi was Food Minister and the percentage of shortage continues to be the same even in 1966, when Shri Subramaniam is the Food Minister. But the expert economists say that even when some areas are victims of drought others receive rainfall more Failure in one part often makes up for success in another. No doubt; our food problem is also solved by the American assistance under PL—480. But it is not a gift food and we pay for it. U S A has agreed to give India food help up to 70 lakh tons for this year of 1966. Seventy lakh tons of wheat are going to cost us Rs. 400 corers, Rs. 90 crores of it in dollars as shipping charges.

To solve our food problem, we must pursue a rational national agricultural policy. It is paradoxical to hear of food shortage in an agricultural country. Government spokesmen complain that 8% of the country's food grains—which is all our shortage—are destroyed by rats. In order to save this much quantity, it is necessary that steps to finish off rats should be taken.

The consumption of cereals in India is very high. This is also due to the fact that non cereal foods like vegetables, fruits, milk, etc., are too expensive for most of our people. Government must do something to increase the production of these. This process will lighten the burden on cereal foods. Our late Prime Minister, Sh. Lal Bahadur Shastri, in his impassioned oration to the nation exhorted the people to observe fast for one day in a week and he also demanded that cerels should not be used on Mondays.

Food acreage has been diverted to cash crops—mainly cane. Sugar-cane involves less labour, but earns more

than rice. We ask Americans to buy our sugar and in turn beg them to give us wheat. If one country is really suffering from food crisis then every step should be taken which would help augment the food grains in our country. Our peninsular country has a vast stretching sea-lame where the possibilities of farming are almost unlimited. At the same time we shall also have to change our habits. Some people won't touch food touched by others. Others wouldn't use to-day's food tomorrow. Still others think it a point of honour to leave some food in their plates. Why can't we imbibe and inculcate some more reasonable habits? This would help to a great extent in solving the food problem.

The Central Food and Technological Research Institute has shown that there are considerable losses in milling and port handling operations. Our storage methods, our transport of food grains, our distribution system etc. all continue to be as primitive as before. Even the startling growth of rodent menace is taken light-heartedly. The Committee for Rodent Eradication appointed about a year ago by the Union Health Ministry is yet to meet.

While we have theoretically ensured a mininum price to the farmer. the Food Corporation of India has been designated as the agency to maintain these prices throughout the country. The proper functioning of this corporation depends upon the attitude of State Governments.

The object of monopoly procurement in Japan or of the Canadian or Australian Wheat Boards has been to create an efficient marketing organization which would ensure that middlemen do not make much profits and that the maximum benefits accrue to the producers themselves. But the monopoly procurement that is now being attempted in many states, obviously, overlooks this fact, their only short-term objective being to get into their possession as much grain as possible. Such operations have not resulted either in better quality to the consumer or lower prices.

Therefore, the approach to food problem has to be integrated. We must eschew all ideological plans and a matter like food which involves millions of people in this country with all their rigidity of food habits, cannot be left to ideologies. Let there be no conflict on small-scale and large scale farming, as both have their own advantages [illegible] while if all these factors are applied, to the same piece of land, production could be anywhere between 100 and 600 per cent.

Agriculture should not be bureaucratised. Centralisation and monopoly in the distribution of fertilisers and credit have often tended to create delays in the farmer getting his requirements in time. Multiple agencies [illegible] An atmosphere [illegible] gets his require- [illegible] er, better seeds, spraying of crops and agricultural expertise readily whenever they are required.

The conversion of food acreage to non-food purposes should be restricted. As a matter of fact the solution to the food problem is expected only through an agricultural revolution and agricultural revolution involves attacking the problem in all its aspects. It takes three months to raise a crop in this country while it takes as much time to get it from U. S. A. or any other country. Even if we save this freight in foreign exchange, we can grow ten times in terms of money value by importing fertilisers rather than grains. To think that food imports do not involve heavy foreign exchange is not correct. We paid Rs. 42 crores freight-charge in foreign exchange last year. This year it will be about Rs. 90 crores. The commercial crops have been considered foreign exchange earners, food crops can still be the biggest foreign exchange saver in this country.

But the very quintessence of food problem is to evolve a national food policy. This is the responsibility of Central and State Governments. The Food Corporation of India can only translate this into action On the creation of State Zones, it was felt that a national agency like the Food Corporation could take out the surplus without let or hindrance. Otherwise the people have stronger reason to ask for a bigger zone to avoid the anxiety of perpetual shortages.

Though, statutory rationing has been introduced in urban areas like Calcutta, Delhi, Madras, Hyderabad, Coimbatore, Visakhaptanam and Secunderabad and Bombay, Poona Nagpur, Bangalore, etc are also going to be brought under statutory rationing shortly, fair price shops have been functioning in rural areas.

If in this moment of great awakening among farmers and all sections of public, their efforts are harnessed a tremendous release of energy would be let loose which would solve our food problem and would enable us to face the future challenge of population, when we shall have a 30% increase over the present population by 1975.

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13. INDIA AND U.N.O.

The emergence of United Nations Organization on Oct. 24, 1945, was welcomed by the whole world because it was not only an echo of peace and international understanding, but was a ray of hope and optimism for all those who wistnessed the grim and ghastly, the sad and soul piercing spectacle of World War I and World War II, fought in the first half of the twentieth century. Wars, ipso facto, have been fought in history at times. While the poets have sung panegyries to the glories won in wars as is evident from the famous and gigantic wars of the Orient, the Ramayana and Mahabharata, while Homer was delighted to give laudatory discourses on Iliad.

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League of Nations. With the formation of U.N.O, a new epoch of peace and hope dawned upon humanity. The shuddering touch, with which humanity was afflicted started to lessen. U N.O. put the world humanity on the path of peace, mutual understanding, and co-operation among the nations.

The striking and salient features for which this august body was devised are :

1. To respect the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

2. To achieve international co-operation in solving problems of economical, social, cultural, humanitarian and character.

3. To serve as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

4. To render technical assistance for implementing programmes of economic development, social welfare, education, health, agriculture, vocational training and public administration.

These are the superb scruples and lofty ideals upon which rose the citadel of U N O., a symbol of peace and good will among nations. U N.O was created to serve as an effective instrument in checking the war-like tendencies and trends and to solve all the disputes international and international throug peaceful means. But in spite of this, nations have resorted to appeal of arms in many cases and have also formed military pacts is a sad and depressing commentary on the outlook of the great powers.

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The dark, dismal and infructuous record of the League of Nations culminated in its complete dismantlement and disintegration. It failed to do justice when Italy attacked Abbysinia. So League of Nations came to its tragic end. U N.O. was created to fill the void and vacuum created by League of Nations With the formation of U.N.O, a new epoch of peace and hope dawned upon humanity. The shuddering touch, with which humanity was afflicted started to lessen. U N.O. put the world humanity on the path of peace, mutual understanding, and co-operation among the nations.

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The history of U.N.O., during the last 21 years of its existence, has been a chequered record of both victories and defeats. It had to pass through the most critical and crucial times and had t, exercise its powers and principles in order to maintain international harmony. Though it had survived all the plagues and pestilences of international politics but it is a melancholy fact that has not reached the eights of people's expectations and instead of becoming a sane organ zation to pass justice without vindictiveness, to help the weak against strong, to speak truth an condemn lie, to help the honest and the gentle against the wicked and tyrannous, U.N. has become a chess board of power politics a pawn in the hands of Big Powers thus thwarting itself the very ideals for which it was created. Though U. N. has fairly succeeded in focussing public attention on the troubling and turmoiling world problems of the time, obliged the parties to justify their actions, coaxed the warring and disputing nations to negotiate an agreement, used its sane offices for mediation and bringing about peaceful settlement, issued orders to stop unsheathing the sword as well as calling countries to sent their armed troops to the troubled countries for bringing peace as in Congo. U.N. despite its failures here and there has to its credit commendable record of easing world tensions. settling international disputes and also of advancing the cause of subjugated people for perfect freedom.

This world body stands for the observance of fundamental rights including complete social, political and economic equality between man and woman. U. N. O. is not merely entrusted the task of putting end to mutual. fighting internecinne warfare, or protecting the infringement of spirit and charter of United Nations Organization by any power but is also engaged on another plane to eradicate and fight hunger starvation, disease, poverty and ignorance, 'blatant political and economic equality, conducted through its other organs and limbs. U. N. has successfully used its good offices of mediation, negtotiation and conciliation as is true in case of Indo-Pak conflict of September, 1965 ; its cease-fire calls were heeded in Pales-

tine, Indonesia and Kashmir, also resorted to armed action in June 1950 at the bidding of the Security Council to resist the attack of North Korea against South Korea. U. N. is also spearheading the supervision of the administration of certain African, Asian, and Australian demesnes placed under trusteeship.

With all these feathers studded in the cap of U. N. it is finding itself now in a precarious situation and all its deliberations and outpourings are daily reduced to a scrap of paper. The fact remains that the very sanctum sanctorum of this organization has been stifled by differences of great magnitude. Cold war symptoms have also crept into the inner precincts of U. N. O. as was evident during the debates on Kashmir. This international forum has failed to do justice on Kashmir problem by not bringing Pak to heel. On some issues, there is complete deadlock, stalemate and stagnation. The Big Powers are threatening to kindle the torch of war on many issues of their involvement and interest At a time when this world [illegible] with a third bloc of [illegible] future of mankind is bound to be at stake. The state of mounting tensions, mutual bickerings, open hostility to each other and repugnance, clash of interests may lead the world to brutal barbarism The Cuban crisis set the pace of this humainty on the road of total annihilation but thanks to Russians who averted the conflict.

United Nations, when it was created over the debris of the defunct League of Nations, came as a torch bearer to this terrorized and troubled, horrified and frightened humanity of inter-war years period. The two wicked World Wars have left their trailings of a sterile civilization, disease and destruction and a crop of death. U.N O. gave a healing touch to this humanity haunted by the sceptre of war. It was a beacon of hope and an embodiment of man's lofty ideas, ideals and idealism.

But to our surprise and shock and dismay, we see today an ugly race for armaments. Both the power blocs are busy in devising contrivances for such potentiality and power so as to sound the death-knell of human civilization. While U.S.S.R. agreed to a general disarmament and asked Americans to stop the sabre-rattling and reconnaisance, a test ban treaty was also signed in which both the parties agreed to stop testing of nuclear weapons. It was a good sign to end the signals of war. But still some countries are indulging in the mad race of armaments and thus are threatening world peace. The arms race not only feeds on itself but creates in every country an attitude of mind which makes agreements impossible. The best hopes for peace are now placed in maintaining a "balance of terror" but this balance is beginning to look like an illusion. We must return to the commonsense conclusion that peace and security cannot be achieved without first reaching agreements between East and West to halt the arms race.

Again the neutralization of areas has gained ground because it is considered to be a welcome step in international negotations. The Great Powers, including U.S.S.R., signed a treaty in 1955, which neutralized Austria. In 1960, they signed a treaty which neutralized Antarctica. So the significance of neutralization is that it s a form of territorial disarmament, a partial dismantling of the great military machines and military bases whose destructive powers have now become so terrifying.

India has also contributed her maximum to honour the charter and spirit of the U.N.O. Her role in respecting the ideals of U.N., ever since independence, is commendable. Her clarion call to liberate and emancipate the countries crushed under the heel of colonialism and imperialism, is well known. India's growing influence, moral, political, cultural and humanritarian has been tremendously felt in and outside U.N. Being a member of U.N., India has never shown an element of partiality and prejudice against any nation but has acted

and aligned with the humanitarian, progressive, moral and egalitarian forces. How Pt. Nehru vehemently denounced the Anglo-French invasion of Suez is known to one and all India also condemned severely the Russian attack on Hungary. Our forces were also sent in the troubled land of Congo to work under the aegis of U.N. India also despatched a military battalion in Korea in order to restore peace in that land of chaos and confusion.

Peace has been the guiding angel of our foreign policy. India has done her best to maintain peace and freedom in the whole world. Pt. Nehru became the cynosure of all the peace-loving people. "Peace", according to Pt. Nehru, "is not physical abstention from war but an attempt to create a climate of peace all over the world."

India was not a silent spectator when the neighbouring island of Ceylon was about to be grabbed by the Chinese dragon, after [illegible] Bandaranaike, [illegible] oured to get pl [illegible] Republic of Indonesia was threatened by a Dutch war of re conquest, or when Cambodia fought for her free existence, or when the cockpit of cold war i.e. Vietnam is embroiled in the flames of an internecine warfare and brutal bombing by the Americans. All these acts of gallantry and bravery show India's unstinted support to the moral, freedom and peace-loving forces

It is an ardent and firm belief of India that in the existence of U N lies a hope, an optimism of humanity who is devoted and dedicated to the furtherance of the cause of world peace. The eclipse of U.N. will again reverse the whole cycle of progress and peace. The tragic story of the League of Nations is still fresh in the minds of statesmen of the whole world. Still are fresh the haunting and dreadful catastropies and cataclysms of the two colossal wars.

India does not want this barbarous drama to be repeated again, a drama which brings in its wake nothing but mass killings, massacre, destruction of life and property, deadly diseases and economic upheavals Thus to avoid this frightening picture, India is steadfastly enhancing the cause of world peace. Though our country is aggressed by the ruthless and beastly marauders of Communist China, India has never gone awry for maintaining peaceful decorum. The aggressors will get the nemesis.

India has been an active member of U.N. and has tried to strengthen the hands of U.N.O. and has willingly offered her services when needed to ease international tensions and promote good-will and mutual understanding. It was in this hope and belief that India agreed to be[illegible] the chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in Korea and chairman of International Commission for Supervision and Control in Indo China.

On the whole, India's contribution in the arena of U.N.O. is immense because U.N.O. is a symbol of peace, friendship, goodwill among nations, of which India is a staunch protagonist. India thinks that U.N.O. which is a ray of hope, vision, belief and prosperity must succeed in its holy mission. But if U.N. remained a chess-board of power politics of Big Powers then there is every possibility of its meeting the fate of the old defunct League of Nations.

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14. INDO-PAK CONFLICT

Pakistan has been blatantly and brazenly indulging in aggression against India since her very inception. The campaign of hate and hostility, treachery and deceit, blackmail and hooliganism forms a part of Pakistan's political propaganda against India. Pakistan came in the limelight of the whole world as an aggressor when her forces attacked the territory of Jammu and Kashmir in

1947 and grabbed a considerable area, which she now calls "Azad Kashmir'. It has been a cornerstone of our foreign policy to maintain friendly relations with Pakistan, *our immediate neighbour. But in the campaign of* hostility and political vendetta against India lies the vested interest of Pakistan. So in any shape or form she keeps the tempo of cold war at its climax. In the first quarter of 1965, Pakistani forces invaded the Indian territory known as Rann of Kutch. In August, 1965, Pakistan sent her guerrillas trained in war tactics into Jammu and Kashmir. These armed infiltrators or Mujahids carried with them all the necessary paraphernalia of war with the sole purpose of toppling Kashmir Govt. and thus take over the Radio Kashmir and other vital centres of interest. But all these pernicious and aggressive tactics of Pak were grimly met by Indian *Security Forces and our forces also started plugging the* passes through which Pakistan succeeded in sending her Gibraltar Force into the valley of Kashmir in order to bring an internal subversion.

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the [illegible]
but [illegible]
tional frontier in the Chammb sector of Jammu province. Thus, Pakistan again became an acknowledged aggressor in the eyes of the world. Her provocative attitude earned for *Pakistan an opprobrium of the villain of the* piece, as an aggressor and invader.

P*akistan was the first to cross the international frontier* in Jammu province. Pakistan was the first to violate Indian air space when her Sabre-jets bombarded the town of Amritsar in Punjab. Pak was the first to bomb brutally and savagely the civilian population of India, as was also the first to strike and consecrate the places of religious worship like mosques, gurdwaras, churches etc. Pakistan was again the first to violate the naval waters and bombarded *the temples of Puri.* With these heinous and horrendous acts of brazen aggression, India was left no alternative but to open another front. So on Sept.

965, Indian forces marched into the territory of Lahore bly in a bid to destroy the war camps and military allations of Pakistan. Indian troops observed all the ons of international morality and behaviour by tecting the civilians of Pakistan, as well as their gious places. India's motto was to destroy the military tential of Pakistan and to make her ineffective for rther aggression. Pakistan thus having kindled the torch war, compelled India to defend her territorial integ-ty and sovereignty. India had already made it clear to he whole world that an attack on Kashmir will be onsidered as an attack on India. The rulers of Pakistan have made it a question of life and death of nibbling the state of Jammu and Kashmir. When the Indo-Pak hostilities were going on, Mr. Bhutto, Foreign Minister of Pakistan. fumbled that "We will continue the fight for 'free Kashmir' for 1000 years."

The India-Pak fighting continued for 23 days. The war was fought with all the latest military equipment which Pakistan received from America and other countries. Pakistani forces were equipped with the superior Patto. tanks and superior Sabre-jets. There was a huge loss on life and property. This external aggression united insidef the country all the divisive and separatist forces. Indians rose like one man. The unparalleled display of Indian political and cultural unity thwarted all the designs of Pak forces. Pakistan's military potential was badly mauled. It lost its about 472 Patton tanks and her 76 aircraft were destroyed by the Indian Gnats. India's skilled military officials and their steadfast determination and fervent patriotism proved more than all the borrowed military strength of Pakistan. Pak received her military aid from U.S.A. in 1954 in order to checkmate the advance of Communism in South East Asia. Mr Eisenhower, the then President of U.S.A., declared tha if the military aid given to Pakistan by America is use against any non-communist country, then the U.S.A with or without the intervention of U.N., would thwa the aggression. But those critical days have proved th despite these agreements Pakistan has flouted all t

ernational pacts and obligations while U.S.A. was
lty of a silent spectator in this tragic situation.

Anyhow with the persistent efforts of U.N.O., and s Secretary-General U. Thant, the trouble was halted n September 23, 1965, when both India and Pakistan agreed to an armistice call given by U N O. A hollow truce came. And people's doubts that it will be an uneasy cease-fire, a short lived truce, proved correct. India heeded to the U N. resolution passed in Security Council. India has the keen desire to normalise relations with Pakistan. As regards our position on Kashmir, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri declared in New Delhi on September 26, 1965, "Kashmir is an integral part of India So it shall remain. India cannot be cowed down by Pak's threats and he will fight for justice and freedom whatever be the cost."

Again on October 17, 1965, Mr. Shastri reaffirmed India's stand on Kashmir, when he said, 'Pakistan won't be able to take an inch of Kashmir even if they continue fighting for it till eternity." He further averred in Dhanbad, "If anyone tried to take Kashmir by force, our answer is that force will be met with force This is the reason why we took the decision to march into Pak territory."

With such firm and clear avowals by Indian leaders Pakistan is still harping for her crusade on Kashmir Speaking to foreign journalists, Mr. Bhutto once said "Berlin is to West as Kashmir is to Pakistan. An Pakistan's crusade is never complete until Kashmir integrated with the rest of Pakistan" These utteranc are nothing but the outpourings of a disgruntled a rated politician of Pakistan, which by the virtue r policy of bullyism, blackmail, want to make ender of Kashmir by India to Pakistan Pakis r having failed in her previous tactics like giving ht of self-determination to the Kashmiris, has reso third degree methods in order to solve this self s d so-called 'dispute'.

Pakistan is a country born, nurtured and cultured in hatred against India. "She is a crazy diversion devised by Mephissophelian spirits which gloat over the follies and misfortunes of men. It is moth-eaten to the core and is held together by the anti-Hindu fixation ; but the Hindus will survive it as they have survived worse plagues and pestilences in their age-long history," asserts P. Mahadevan a distinguished author. Pakistan's visions of nibbling through to Srinagar, Jammu, Aligarh, Agra and Lucknow must be given an everlasting quietus. She hopes to bring entire India under star and crescent. We will have to be cautious and conscious of Pak activities of bringing subversion and disruption inside the country. Such apprehensions are well cleared, when Prof. Arnold Toynbee, the world famous historian of modern times, wrote in an article of 'The Hindustan Times,' a few years ago, that "Pakistan is a partial culmination of thousands of years of Muslim efforts to make India a pan-Islamic State."

The other noteworthy though sad fact was that the entire British press and leaders took a partisan attitude in this confrontation and favoured Pakistan. Venomous has been its mouth piece, the B C.C. Its press has been guilty of suppressio veri, its Prime Minister of suggestio falsi.

While this process of mutual distrust was going on, Russia exhorted India and Pakistan to come to a platform for solving their related problems to Indo Pak conflict. Both the countries agreed to attend the venue of the conference, which was Tashkent, the Central Asian city of U.S S R. An agreement was arrived at between India and Pakistan and was signed by the Indian Prime Minister and Pak President on January 10. 1966. The Tashkent Declaration enshrined among *other things*, *to renounce* the use of force for solving disputes as well as asked both the countries to withdraw their troops to pre-August 5, 1965, position. While all this process of disengagement has been *over*. Pakistani leadership has again hoisted the petard and has violated the Tashkent Spirit. She is again busy in launching a campaign of vilification and

against India. The controlled press of Pakistan has ed writing venomous and vitriolic articles against a. This, indeed, is a dangerous and explosive ation.

To safeguard the sacred and far flung frontiers of dia is the supreme duty of every citizen. Ours is a ght against the dictatorial and tyrannical leadership of Pakistan India is a democratic country wedded to secularism while Pakistan is a theocratic State with a totalitarian leadership So, apart from the fact that we are fighting for the defence and security of our motherland, ours is also a fight for ideals of democracy and secularism.

Pakistan it seems, does not want to come to grips with India, and the furious fulminations of Mr. Bhutto in the Security Council made Prime Minister Shastri declare in Jaipur, on October 28, 1965 : "The language and tone of Mr. Bhutto's speech in U.N. Council virtually ruled out the possibility of India and Pakistan coming together" He again said, the other day "Every inch of our territory is dear to us and we shall fight to defend it with all our might. We shall reply to words with words and arms with arms" He went on to say, "I do not know what will happen to-morrow We must remain prepared to meet any situation."

Pakistan also observed 'Crush India Day' on Octob 22, 1965, in East Pakistan. Pakistan has done everythi to browbeat India, but her designs have not mer failed but badly mauled. In those turbulent days Indo Pak Confrontation, Mr. Shastri gave this cou a courageous and determined leadership and our ar forces after having fought heroically against the sup military equipment of Pakistan, emerged victoriou of this ordeal.

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15 INDIA AND NON-ALIGNMENT

The moment India achieved her independe entered into the horizons of world politics wi plex or confusion. She forged links wit

friendly and free nations, whether those countries were in the Russian Campus as in the orbit of Anglo-American grouping. But India's course in the realm of international affairs was not guided by and based upon pure political ideologies The propounders of our foreign policy kept in view the enlightened self-interest of the nation and preferred to remain aloof from the conflicting and confronting ideologies of the rival political systems represented by Russians and Anglo-Americans, and India, thus rode on the bandwagon of non-alignment. Ours was and is quite free and independent policy keeping in view the problems of humanity at large. In the plexus of international diplomacy and politics, India has her own independent, just, neutral and unprejudiced voice.

Non-alignment represents a third force in world politics. Apart from the two titanic blocs, the neutral and uncommitted nations come under the heading of non-alignment. Our first Prime Minister, Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru, became the originator of this political doctrine. Non alignment has been the lighthouse of India's foreign policy. It has been the Pole Star for guiding the ship of India into the turbulent sea of international affairs. The Bandung Conference in 1955 was a milestone which determined the course to be followed by the countries flowing in the stream of non-alignment.

The record of India's foreign policy practised during the last nineteen years has shown that India has never lagged behind in so far as the question of justice and fair-play is concerned. It is because of this doctrine that Pt. Nehru, denounced the combined Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Suez in 1956. Pt. Nehru, being the apostle of peace and non-alignment did not hesitate to call a spade a spade. He also condemned in unequivocal terms the Russian aggression in Hungary. Pt. Nehru's role as a peace-maker, as a Messiah of peace and upholder and respector of non-alignment's principle is unique. He was against all the shams and conventions of colonialism and communism and always hit the nail on the head. His cry for the liberation of all the suppressed and subjugated countries

r the dark imperialism of the colonialists and im-alists is known to one and all. He strode his country he middle path in the cross-currents of political scene.

Non alignment does not mean perfect aloofness or iso-on. Non-alignment certainly means alignment with the progressive, freedom-loving, peace-loving, humani-rian and equalitarian forces. The non aligned and utral powers, whether it was India, U.A.R. or ugoslavia, sounded and supported the trumpet of free-om everywhere.

Non-alignment, as a matter of fact, is one of the five principles of 'Panchshila' enunciated by Pt Nehru in 1955. With non-alignment. some say, there should be non-involvement into the internal affairs of other countries. It is true. But if the happenings in certain countries are pointers to world instability and insecurity then it is imperative to view the things in their proper perspective and also to make a disinterested, detached and dispas-sionate appeal for the maintenance of world peace and political decorum. India's role in normalising and calm-ing the boiling situation in Vietnam is stupendous. But her calls are not heeded by the concerned powers who have jumped into the internecine warfare of Vietnam India, being a neutral nation, has called for a halt to American intervention in Vietnam. The brutal bombing by the concerned powers in Vietnam has made this state a graveyard of innumerable Vietnamese. This troubled spot, despite India's persistent efforts, has not only become a cock-pit of cold war, but a place of actual shooting

To be non-aligned in the real sense, it is essential at our country should be self-sufficient in most of the ings, like food and defence potential. India has re-eived aid from foreign countries but without any strings, olitical or military. We shall have to be a power in he eyes of the countries of the world. Now there are heard cries for making India strong and self-reliant. That we should be strong enough is undoubtable, but amidst

...shila to inspire us instead of panchtantra, the subject ...nes denuded of its pristine significance.

...here is a tale heard in the highest political circles for ...ppraisal of our policy of non-alignment. A school ...ought is advocating India to join one bloc or another. ...s type of thinking has been intensified soon after the ...nese aggression of 1962 and especially in the crucial ...ys of Indo-Pak confrontation. Whenever, India has ...en threatened by any external powers, India did not ...ceive the requisite support from the other countries. ...ather, some openly acted against us The Islamic nexus, ...unning like a vertebral column from Tunis to Jakarta, ...vas usually mum and some countries like Jordan, Indo...nesia and Turkey openly supported Pakistan during the days of Indo-Pak fighting. What a queer world it is! When other countries were threatened by foreign aggressors India cried hoarse in denouncing the aggressors and supporting the victims. But in our case, our policy of non-alignment has not paid the dividends as India expected. On the other hand, India's commendable role in calming the fiery situation in Korea and Indo-China is well known. India had also extinguished the embers of chaos and controversy in the troubled lands of Congo and supported the democratic forces. India was forthright in denunciating the policy of racial segregation in South Africa, whether South Africa was ruled by the racialists like Dr Malan, Mr. Strijdom or the present head Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, who practised the policy of apartheid. India has taken all these segregationists to task until and unless South Africa was made to be ousted from the Commonwealth. The part, which India has played in the firmament of international politics is unique in the sense that ours has never been a biased or prejudiced attitude on any problem, bu... we have acted in conformity with the charter and spirit o... the United Nations Organization and has made a carpin... criticism of all the ideological forces which stand for expa... sionism and extra-territorialism. India has respected t... territorial integrity and sovereignty of all the countries a... has no diabolic intentions and ambitions of gobbling t... territory of other countries.

Being non-aligned, India is friendly to all the countries either belonging to the Communist camp or capitalist c. We are persona-grata to Washington as well as to Moscow. India is an oasis of peaceful co-existence. Economic prosperity at home and peace abroad has been and is the key-note of our foreign policy.

But let it not be forgotten that non-alignment is a policy and not a dogma or creed. Policies are meant for the pleasure and profit of the nations. Policies are susceptible to change according to the winds of world politics. A country practises that policy through which the interest of the country is served We should take non alignment as a policy and not as a rigid doctrine or dogma.

Non-alignment is a good ship for th newly emerging nations for sailing in the sea of global politics. The newly freed countries are not concerned in joining the power blocs wrought with cold war and mutual bickerings. They want their advance in the various fields of their social, political, scientific, technological and economic activities. This can only be achieved with the co-operation and good-will of other countries of the world

What India needs to-day is neither joining the capitalist bloc represented by Anglo-Americans nor Communist camp as represented by U.S.S R , but we require a sound footing of our own almost in every sphere of life, food, defence and scientific advancement. We should emerge as a power so that no country dares to cast her covetous eyes on the sacred soil of India If, India is trespassed by an unprovoked aggressor, then it becomes the duty of every patriotic citizen to thwart the aggression with all the gusto Self-reliance is the very *sine qua non* o our policy of non alignment. When our country is self supporting and self sufficient in every field, as other countries like U.S.A U.K and U.S.S.R. are, non-alignment can be preached practised and propounded in a most realistic and pragma

16. THE TASHKENT SPIRIT

The signing of a historic document at Tashkent between India and Pakistan marks a land-mark in the annals of Indo-Pak relations. The Tashkent Declaration, which was arrived at between India and Pakistan, was a welcome breath of amity and cordiality which relieved the atmosphere of tension, cold war and intermittent occurrence of hot conflicts between these two countries. This document was a "call to conversion of hearts' as our philosopher President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, termed it. He further said, "It is not a legal document nor moral exhortation nor a political settlement."

Thus Tashkent accord has come to be known as "Tashkent spirit," which is an inclination to and yearning for peace, friendship, and a robust belief in and pious hope for solving all the disputes through peaceful negotiations which is the very essence and spirit of international law and international politics. The Tashkent agreement was a call for peace and co-existence and exhortation to shed the feelings of hatred and fear towards each other. "Tashkent Declaration," said Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, "is a unique experiment in international diplomacy."

The open armed conflict between India and Pakistan, which occurred in September 1965, was a sad chapter in the history of this sub-continent. To end this confrontation, Mr. Alexie Kosygin, the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, had for the first time suggested a summit meeting between the leaders of India and Pakistan. It took four months for both the countries to crystallize this opinion. However, the Indo-Pak parleys started at Tashkent on January 4 1966, and ended by signing a joint declaration. The persistent endeavours and good offices of Mr. Kosygin bore fruit. The *'9-Point Shastri-Ayub Pact'* was signed which stated among other points :

"...They reaffirm their obligations under the Charter not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means."

"...All armed personnel of the two countries shall withdrawn not later than February 25, 1966, to the itions they held prior to August 5, 1965, and both es will observe the ceasefire terms and cease-fire lines."

It was also agreed "that the relations between India d Pakistan shall be based on the principle of non-inter-erence in the internal affairs of each other."

Both the countries agreed to implement their commit-nents made in the United Nations Resolution of Sep-ember 20, 1965. As a corollary to its above policy, both the States have promised to undertake to restore economic, commercial and diplomatic links, to carry out the repatriation of the prisoners of war, the return of seized goods, merchandise etc

This is the broad outline on which both the countries agreed. Though the agreement was a miraculous conclu-sion, Mr Shastri's firmness and flexibility, his trans-parent sincerity and humanitarian outlook, was able to inspire faith in his opponent, Mr. Ayub Khan, the President of Pakistan. Renunciation of force was the *ne plus ultra* of their ideal statesmanship This is the very quintessence and crux of Tashkent spirit. This type of spirit is not new. Many more agreements were con-cluded in the past, in which war was declared as an international crime. The Hague Conference of 1899 and 1909 also declared war as an international crime. These conferences also made an exhortation to the world to eschew war and adopt a policy of general dis-armament. The Locarno Pact of 1925 clearly stated :

"They will, in no case, attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other." As a matter of fact, innumerable peace treaties were concluded in the past so as to save the humanity from the holocaust of war. The Treaty of Mutual Assistance of 1923 also declared that the breach of Peace Treaty was an aggression and international crime. Tashkent accord is also a feathe in these peace treaties. But how these peace treaties wer thrown to winds and flagrantly violated despite the

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solemn assurances and exhortations to make peace, is a sad commentary on the powers concerned. Germany, being the first signatory of the 'Pact of Paris' or 'Kellog-Briand Pact of 1928', was the first to violate the pact and rode on the horse of war, which culminated in World War II.

But let it be remembered that Tashkent declaration was discussed to blatant lengths and arrived at on the hard ground of realities The principle of co existence stands vindicated in this monumental document of international diplomacy. Mr Shastri described the Tashkent Pact to pressmen at Tashkent in these words: "Tashkent Declaration is a step to peace. It would help reduce tension between the two countries. There would be no escalation of war any more and would help in the maintenance of peace and promote friendship. It is a unique experiment in international diplomacy."

Mr. Shastri's highest hope, i e., to achieve peace, is fulfilled provided the declaration is implemented honestly and sincerely. Both Mr. Shastri and President Ayub rose above their feelings of hatred and fear and signed the document with hope and optimism of ushering in a new era of cultural contacts, economic collaboration and peace and harmony between the two nations. Tashkent agreement, if implemented in letter and spirit, can change the face of entire Indo-Pak sub-continent. Peace between the two states means material progress and prosperity and economic elevation of both the countries. Tashkent spirit constitutes in the change of hearts and outlook, a change for the betterment of the masses of both the countries. Any effort to thwart the agreement by any interested disruptor must be dealt with severely. Tashkent declaration must lead to the ending of war The war mentality must be shed and any dispute between the two countries should be solved by mutual consent and in a spirit of goodwill. This is the best course open to humanity in this world of tension and turmoil. If the humanity really wants to avoid a third global catastrophe, then war must be declared outlawry. War

cannot solve any problem, rather it has created problems. Moreover the wars of modern times are nth times more devastating and destructive than the wars fought in the past. Modern warfare is an intricate business. War is the greatest plague and pestilence that can afflict humanity. It is the greatest curse. So it is only to avoid this type of sad spectacle that Mr. Shastri and Marshal Ayub signed the pact in good faith and hope.

But what we see today is the dirty development of a disastrous thinking, which wants to throw the Tashkent spirit to winds. The outbursts and out pourings of Pakistani leaders have done much harm to the Tashkent accord. Mr. Bhutto, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, is pouring venom and vitriol over India and is violating vehemently the Tashkent spirit. (Mr. Bhutto has resigned from the Pakistan Cabinet since). Mr Swaran Singh, the Foreign Minister of India, disclosed the other day in Lok Sabha, that Pakistan is violating the Tashkent spirit The vituperative propaganda has again been launched by the controlled press and radio of Pakistan. Mr. Altaf Gauhar, the Information Secretary of Pakistan, said the other day that Mujahids or infiltrators do not come under Tashkent declaration Pakistan agreed only to the withdrawal of 'armed personnel', which means only the regular army of Pakistan Instances of violation of ceasefire line by Pak have also been noticed by India. As a matter of fact, Pakistan again seems to be coming in a belligerent mood Her recent display of Chinese T-59 tanks and Mig-19 planes synchronising with the visit of Chinese President Liu Shao-Chi and Foreign Minister of China Mr. Chen-Yi to Pakistan are portents of the evil intentions of Pakistan.

India, on the other hand, is implementing Tashkent declaration in letter and spirit It is India's earnest desire to live in peace and amity with Pakistan The recent large-scale destruction of life and property during Indo-Pak fighting of both the countries has shown the futility of war. Let the opposition to the agreement be overcome through sweet persuasion and patient reasoning. The people all over the sub-continent must

get rid of the poisonous legacy of fear and there be no further harping on Kashmir unalienable part of India, politically, economically, socially, culturally, and legally. the Ministerial Meet between the delegations and Pakistan at Rawalpindi on March Pakistan insisted on opening and discussing issue first and then anything else. was that the meeting ended in fiasco and Mr. Singh, Indian Foreign Minister, told at after his return from Rawalpindi that "Pindi is mood to come to grips with India." This of Pakistan and her malicious campaign show that Pakistan does not want relations with India.

Let wisdom descend on the rulers of do something beneficial for the people continent. Peace is the need of the time. T will have to be honoured and maintained. ray of hope for millions living in this sub must work to preserve peace and create a peace. Walter Lippman, the renowned A tical commentator and columnist, asserted: is the better for what was done in Tashkent. kind has needed badly to be shown that possible to get on top of the intractable vic affairs."

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17 INDIA SINCE
Or
INDIA IN 1980

The achievement of independence from thraldom or August 15, 1947, beset the gaurdians of the country to formulate the grammes for building a better India, a a country which had to wash all the dirty black spots, which were the legacies of imperialism, whic went to all the

exploiting this country's economy, cultural and political by adopting the policy of *divide et impera*, so as to suit their own ends. These colonial countries robbed our abundant potentialities and economic resoures and gave it the stigma of backward nation, a country which inherently and historically is a repository of a glorious heritage, a first class civilization, the rich culture and the very fount and fountainhead of philosophical intellectualism.

With the attainment of freedom, there opened a devil's [illegible]

which our country had to face are so innumerable to be counted, but in the ensuing study we shall take the salient features one by one which have shaped the internal and external structure of our country.

The transfer of power to the Indian National Govt. made this Government more responsible and thoughtful and there came the problems of law end order, of economic instability, of political and cultural disunity, which were the disastrous hall-marks of the British regime.

Looking back over the panorama of past eighteen years, our country has undergone as a tremendons change in each and every field of human activity. Though there was the ghost of communalism, a very byproduct of partition, showing its ugly sceptre right from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari. The decisive part played by Pandit Nehru in suppressing this devilish development is commendable as he made secularism the very base of this country where the flames left over by the British bosses couldn't find more oil in order to burst in a bigger coflagration, which they actually wanted. It was made to realize that India is not merely a geographical entity but a cultural and spiritual entity. It was, therefore, integrated into one, spiritually. The disruptive tendencies and fissiparous trends to divide this country multi-racially failed. There

was no question of Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Christians. All are the full citizens of this state. The problem of minorities also came up and was solved by protecting the minority communities and by giving them some concessions. So India became God's great melting pot where all these communities irrespective of their different modes of living etc. are being melted and reformed and God is producing the typical Indian.

Another enemy which threatened the integrity of the nation was the problem of princely states. The 560 odd states of India were merged in the Indian Union by Sardar Patel, the Bismark of India. His ability, astuteness, farsightedness and statesmanship was unioue in so far as the problem of princedoms and principalities is concerned.

The third monster was that of the problem of the linguistic states. The States Reorganisation Commission solved this problem rightly.

The language controversy was severe at its earlier stages but the Constituent Assembly solved this issue amicably by declaring Hindi as the national language and English as an associate language until as such Hindi takes the rightful place to replace English. Linguistic unity is one of the most important factor cementing the very territorial integrity of the nation.

This is not the total sum of our achievements but as regards the industrialisation of our country and the building of dams, hydro-electric projects rural electrification, which our ex premier used to designate as 'the temples of modern age' have been quite responsible in shaping modern India—an India which has sound foundations of economy. But still the sceptre of unemployment is baffling the best brains in our country, whether they are economists, planners or the architects of modern India. India has now just start her fourth Five-Year Plan, but the problem of ever-increasing unemployment and the ever-increasing literacy rate are the two enigmatic problems which must be solved immediately.

Our country has undergone three general election based on adult franchise, which is a testimon to the successful running of the institution of democracy which has gone into the inner symptoms of our life and thought. Democracy's success is a touchstone of our country's political system. There is a show of various political parties in our country trying to establish their respective ideologies, but up till now, the Congress, because of its past glorious heritage, has not allowed any other political creed to thrive. The struggle to day is between the national democratic institutions and the forces represented by Communism. The Communist Party of India came into its naked skin in the wake of Chinese aggression in 1962, when it gave confusing and contradictory statements favourable to the aggressor and going against the very sense and spirit of Indian nationalism. The split of this totalitarian creed into Right and Left clearly showed the loyalties of this fellow travelling galley in our country and since then the hold of the Communist Party of India has been considerably weakened.

On the economic front, India is much more stable than she was in 1947 The British Government was engaged only in the maintenance of law and order and to suppress the movement for Indian independence and paid least heed to the social and economic progress of our country The moment our National Government took the reins of country's administration, it had to face the crippling lack of resources amidst groaning and grinding poverty, mass illiteracy and ignorance The patterns of our Five-Year Plans have gone much in so far as to remove its wide economic gaps but still we are far away from our ultimate goal what we call Socialistic Pattern of Society.

Broadly speaking, socially and culturally India has also made advances all these years—the ugly forces of casteism, provincialism and linguistic jingoism are dying. Our position to-day is far better than what it was during 1947. The rate of literacy is increasing and people are becoming conscious of their duties and aware of their

responsibilities. In the cultural segment, we have increased our field by setting up some institutions to promote India's ancient cultural heritage.

While delineating the chronology of significant and important events since Independence, Indian mind is mauled with the myth of European culture as a superior culture. The whole period of our political subjection under tyrannical and burning British colonialism, we have been constantly Anglicized and Europeanized. This psyche must be dispelled sooner the better. To borrow from an alien civilization is a sign of degradation, denigration and defamation. Rather it should be preached to the whole world that this Oriental land of ours has been an ancientmost cradle of civilization and culture. The Vedic culture which I call it. The fictitious and filthy theories popularised and preached by European scholars and historians alike about the validity of Vedic culture as not to be found in India but on some other land can be rebutted easily. Vedic culture seemed to have suffered a decline. It languished in the process of migration. The decline is clearly discernible as we pass from Ramayana and Mahabharata to Homer's Iliad and Odyssey. The ruined relics of our ancient civilization and culture show that India had been the hub of art and architecture, music and medicine, sculpture and painting, love and literature in the past. There is a revivification and resuscitation of ancient art form, which is the real Renaissance in the realm of India's arts.

We do not pose and pretend that India has reached the apex of modern scientific and technological advancement, or in any other field. We, no doubt, are better than what we were eighteen years ago.

While the ship of India's destiny has been streered clear despite all the natural odds and oddities, but some of the unforeseen and unpredictable calamities have definitely retarded the pace of Indian progress. The bundle of problems like Goa, Kashmir, food have quite engaged the attention of our rulers and leaders. Goa, Diu and

Daman have been freed from the foreign yoke since Dec. 1961. The massive military invasion by Red China in 1962 on the sacred soil of our country was an international betrayal. The Chinese panzers were and are out to expand their boundaries. They nibbled about 12,000 sq. miles of Indian territory and are still posing a threat to our way of life. Moreover the recent attack by Pakistan over India in Sept, 1965 has also upset the budget and to meet this twin challenge our Government will have to spend a lot in order to defend the nation. So quite a sizable amount of our budget is put to strengthen defence measures and the manufacture of military eqiupment. But even then we shall have to go in such a way that the normal work goes on.

With this description and discussion we come to the conclusion that India has taken big strides forward both in the horizons of internal affairs and vistas of external affairs. Pt. Nehru's unstinted and unselfish contribution in presenting and projecting the image of India abroad is commendable and unforgettable and we pray to the almighty that the future national Governments will go a step farther, so that India may rank as one of the biggest powers of the world and to be respected and honoured in the hearts of the people of the whole world because of a brightened and an enlightened India.

By 1980, India would have finished her fifth Five-Year Plan and would be going through her sixth Five-Year Plan. By that time the conditions would be different. As our Planning Minister Asoka Mehta says, India would be self-sufficient and self supporting in most of the spheres like food and economy, by 1980. Though population would increase at the present rate of the growth of population continues. But our Government is endeavouring to put a check to this monstrous increase in population while India in 1980, would be scientifically advanced, economically better and would have a better degree in literacy and education, if anything untoward does not happen.

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18. INDIA AND THE ATOM BOMB

The icy winds of confusion have already blown over the question of proliferation of an atom bomb by India, and this controversy still continues to haunt and hewn some of the best brains in our country whether they are statesmen or scholars, politicians or professors, press-lords or political astrologers, thinkers or writers.

The detonation of the third nuclear device by Red China has sent a current of horror and terror to the freedom and peace-loving nations of the world, especially to non-committed, neutral and non-aligned nations, which are underdeveloped and under-privileged and are still passing through a crucial and critical period of economic strangulation and political pell-mell.

But a country like India, which is already a victim of perfidious and insidious China having her main goals of territorial expansionism and making ideological inroads into other countries, who has already nibbled a considerable chunk of Indian territory and continues to threaten our security and stability, cannot sit in a state of complacency and confusion but will have to evolve a policy for containing the Chinese expansionism and extra-territorialism. The danger of China is looming largely over the horizons of India and that too when China is in league with Pakistan to browbeat and bludgeon India in all the possible ways.

India, however, is committed to the cause of world peace. India does not want to indulge in such acts that may tarnish her image. But the defence of the motherland is the paramount uty of the government. We are guided by the innate principle of non violence and truth but we also cannot shut our eyes about the inherent dangers. China today possesses all the lethal weapons of war, guided missiles and the latest sinews of war. In this situation it becomes imperative for India to go in for such policy which may thwart the designs of China who is out to humiliate India. All these things give rise to a volley of questions like, whether India should go in for the

proliferation of an atom bomb or not? If it is manufactured then what will be its utility? Can India afford to start the proliferation of a nuclear artillery when she is already crippled by so many other pressing problems.

The antogonists of atom bomb say that India being economically weak cannot afford the manufacture of atom bomb which is a costly affair. Moreover, it can also hamper the progress of other peaceful projects. There are other innumerable problems with which our country is faced, like food, illiterary, disease etc These deserve more attention and importance than the manufacturing of atomic device. It is true. They also say that 'peace' and ahimsa' have been the guiding angels of India. It is a part and parcel of our ancieut cultural heritage. We admit that if 'peace' and 'ahimsa' are the words written on one side of the coin the 'Dharmyudha' and 'Chanakyaniti' are written on the other side of it Our past heritage reminisces our firm faith in action as enshrine in the great scriptures of Bhagvadgita and Mah dharata. Kurukshetra is the matrix of our national life.abIf the stream of Indian history is adored by peace prophets like Buddha and Ashoka then Rana Pratap and Shivaji, Guru Gobind Singh and Arjuna are the leading lights in our historical course, who saved India from the intruders and invaders This glaring galaxy in the mainstream of national life provides us with ample experiences to conduct a better effort for defence.

Confronted as we are on the west and the east by Pakistan and on the north by a hostile and treacherous China, we have to think of how to resist these foes of India. The only deterrent to check the over-weaning and vaulting ambitions of these two countries is to build a militarily powerful India which will have a soothing and sober- [illegible]

of India.

To possess an atomic arsenal is no crime. Rather atom bomb in the present-day world of scientific advance

ment and technology has become a status symbol, nay, a fact of life. It serves as an insurance against national extinction. Moreover, it is a ticket for gate-crashing into the nuclear club. The modern world recognises a country powerful only if one possesses the atom bomb. The history of the last two decades shows that it is only because of 'balance of power' that there is no major catastrophe between the two power systems between which the world is divided to-day. If India possesses atom bomb, China will think twice before thinking of bombing. The very possession of a war weapon thwarts the dreams of the enemy. Mere morale is not enough. That could not save the stout Japanese in 1945, when the lurid and ghasty spectacle of deadly devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was witnessed by the whole world to their much shock and dismay.

The nuclear policy will certainly be costly to India. It will hamper and retard other peaceful projects and programmes. But everything is subservient to the security of the country. The late Dr. Bhabha, the atomic scientist of India, announced in his broadcast, that an atom bomb of the capacity of one dropped over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, *i.e.*, of 10 kiloton T.N.T., can be manufactured in Rs. 17·5 lakhs. Lt. General Pierre Gallois, a French Nuclear strategist, has also said that a nuclear force is cheaper than a conventional one. Another American scientist, Dr. Melvin Cohn, who visited India in 1965, also urged India to develop and explode nuclear devices so that atomic energy could be used to improve the living conditions of its people. He says further that the enormous cheap energy released by nuclear explosion could be used to level mountains and to build roads, canals and dams. Such useful projects—which would normally take years to complete and cost a lot of money, if conventional methods were applied—could thus be completed speedily at a comparatively low cost through atomisation.

The economic and moral reasons are subservient to national security. Nuclear cost cannot be more prohibitive than national humiliation. The history of India is

pregnant with examples that throughout the ages we have suffered defeats at the hands of invaders because of our failure to adopt latest tactics and uptodate arms. A peep into the past history shows that Alexander's victory was due to his fast and sturdy steeds which were more than a match for the modest and lazy Indian elephants. The victory of Moghuls is attributed to their possessing catapults, which Indian army did not possess Dutch and Portuguese encircled India because Indian naval power was weak. So is the case with Chinese who invaded India in 1962, with superior weapons unpossessed by the Indian army.

So let us not lag behind in this race. Self reliance is the greatest lesson which we have learent during the days of Indo Pak conflagration We should be self-reliant in our military and war potential. Reliance on foreign powers can prove disastrous. Other countries are talking of providing India with a nuclear umbrella. But this world is very queer. No one respects international treaties and pacts. The last course open to us is to possess a nuclear deterrent. China is becoming an atomic expert and is terrorizing the world by making ghastly blasts. Let there be no complacency or metaphysical humbug over this issue. We must act according to the circumstances. We want peace but with honour.

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19. EDUCATIVE VALUES OF HOBBIES

Hobbies are interesting pursuits through which people derive pleasure, recreation and amusement in their leisure. From the routine life, there comes monotony, dullness and drabness. Going to one's alma mater does not constitute hobbies. People resort to hobbies simply to suck pleasure and feel exalted and mentally elated. Hobby is something which gives enjoyment to people after their long hours of boredom. This does not mean that hard work brings vapadity but after doing that work if one resorts to some pastime which gives enjoyment and mental exaltation is termed as hobby.

Of making hobbies there is no end. Everyone has his own tastes and temperaments and one chooses the hobby which meets his delectations. Among hobbies there is photography, painting, dancing, music, philately, gardening, gathering match box covers, corn-collecting, gathering cigarette covers, games, travelling by car, ship or aeroplane, book-collecting, carpentry, novel-reading, study of poetry etc But the hobbies which I like most are gardening, novel reading and studying poetry. In my spare moments I resort to gardening Gardening is a lovesome thing One grows flowers, cactus and other plants. The flower-beds lend charm to our eyes and their dancing in the air pleases the innermost recesses of our hearts. The bracing breeze of the garden, the blossoming flowers and chirping sparrows on the plants appeal to our senses of sight and sound. A great poet has said, "One is nearer to a God's heart in a garden." Gardening gives us pleasure which is most natural and healthy. Novel-reading is another hobby, which is of great interest to me. While reading novels, I am transported to that literacy realm which is most pleasing. I come across various characters which have taboos and habits which I find in the living characters. They are really my imaginary companions only with whom I share joys and sorrows. The characters comfort me in distressing moments and elevate me from despair and despondency. "Novel can help us to live as nothing else can", says D. H. Lawrence. The characters in the novels serve as my friends, philosophers and guides. It is a matter of pleasure to read novels. Novels are of varied types. Some are social documents. They depict the man and milieu of the writer. The very customs and conventions of the time are reflected in the novels. The historical novels of Shakespeare like King Henry IV, Edward VIII etc., are masterly expositions of the life of kings and princes who lived and ruled in England. They reveal the inwardness of the human spirit as it was prevalent in England in those times. Novel-reading is a good mental exercise, increases our grasping power and makes us all the more humane. One is transported into the valhalla of

ecstasy which relieves one from his agonising issues and haunting worries and cares. Travelling is another hobby, which apart from endowing us with rich experience and education, teaches us toleration It gives a new charm to life and trains us in the virtues of modesty, tact, patience, cheerfulness and kindness. It broadens our mental make-up and enlarges our outlook on life. It is a means of education and knowledge. Travelling broadens our sympathies and helps to remove prejudices ... culture, ... irst-hand ... Even ... delight and refreshment to the spirit. The moasic of history, the manners and mores of people, can be known by undertaking travelling trips. As a hobby, it is one of the best hobbies though it is also expensive

Some people choose such hobbies which give them pleasure and profit They choose inexpensive hobbies like basket-making, chair-knitting, toy-making, cartoon-making, designing pictures and printing clothes. Hobbies help in dispelling the dullness and monotony of mind. ... moments as are healthy, ... n. But I like to study ... literature which has ... pth of feeling and an enlightened approach to the problems of life While reading poetry one is carried into the zones of eternal pleasure spiritual satisfaction and thoughtful contemplation. Though poetry is of diverse types, but the study of romantic as well as classical poetry is thrilling in their own respects. By studying the works of Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, Coleridge and Byron, one is transported into the ideal vistas of nature, in the land of strangeness and

run keeps us away from the dreariness and dullness of life.

Hobbies play a vital role in our lives. In our country, they are not becoming popular and attractive as fast as it is desired. While in foreign countries, people can't live without leisure. On weekend days, they go to the sea beaches and bask in the open sun. This provides them enjoyment as well as health.

Hobbies have a great educative value. They act like catalytic agents in our lives. They give stimuli and excitement to our life and thus we work earnestly in our routine jobs. Hobbies do not mean a negation of all our activities. But hobbies mean simply to bring a diversion from our routine life and resort to some recreational and entertaining programmes. Some people try to kill two birds with one stone. That is they combine pleasure with profit They believe in George Bernard Shaw's dictum : 'Art for life's sake.' Shaw has little sympathy with those who believe in "Art for Art's sake." For Shaw, Art exists only for Life's sake. Art, according to him, must be didactic. "For Art's sake alone", he has opined, "I would not face the toil of writing a single sentence." So these people pursue their hobbies like photography, painting ; others adhere in their spare hours to arts and crafts, from which they make money as well. This serves their both the purposes. Anyhow, what is needed is, to refresh our mind, to exalt our spirit, to please our senses of sight and sound. Through hobbies, we recoup our health and thus possess a sound mind in a sound body. Besides increasing the horizons of our intellect and understanding, they keep us physically fit, mentally conscious. Without hobbies, life would be "useless life", which according to Goethe "is an early death." So life without leisure is an empty dream. Said Disraeli : "Increased means and increased leisure are the two civilizers of man." Those who go on toiling and working shorten their lives. There must be some moments of leisure because "Leisure is the mother of philosophy," in the words of Thomas Hobbes.

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20. FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA

Ever since India achieved independence, she has been brought into the mainstream of world politics This conduct of contributing something in conformity with international rules, in the reservoir of international politics, is known as a foregin policy. Thus, a Ministry of External Affairs was destined for the purpose and a foreign service was created. This Ministry of External Affairs is thus responsible for giving a shape or swing to the policies to be preached and propounded in the firmament of international politics. To-day, India maintains abroad embassies, Charge d' Affaires, envoys, missions, high commissions, legates, consulates, commercial agencies etc. The primeval principles which spearhead the foreign policy of India are :

(a) Non-aggression.

(b) Non-interference.

(c) Peaceful co existence.

(d) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

(e) Making best use of the U. N. O. for the purpose for which it was created.

(f) Championing the cause of the weak even at the risk of estranging vested interests.

(g) Making and supporting pleas for the liberation of colonies which are still under colonial subjugation

These are the prominent guidelines which run the foreign policy of India. India has been, right from her very inception, a staunch champion of freedom. She has played a spectacular role in liberating the countries from the imperial thraldom. Her support for Indonesia's struggle for independence is well known. She also condemned in unequivocal terms the brazen Chinese aggression in Korea, and endeavoured to restore calm and peace in that troubled spot, and urged the re-admission of China in the comity of nations and moved

a resolution to solve the deadlock regarding the repatriation of prisoners of war which was passed by an overwhelming majority of the U.N.

India's role as an arch-champion of peace and freedom in this idea-ridden, war-torn world is known to one and all. Uptil now, India has done her best to establish peace wherever and whenever she has found an opportunity. She openly denounced the Anglo-French-Israeli combined attack on Suez in 1956 and cast aspersions over the Russian onslaught of Hungary. She has always persisted to solve the Vietnam tangle in a way as to satisfy the saner elements. To restore peace in the Congo, India sent her military personnel there in order to bring about an entente with the warring powers and acted in accordance with the rules of U.N.

But when the Chinese hordes penetrated into the heavenly abode of Tibet, we were little passive. This buffer state was gobbled and grabbed by Communist China in early fifties. Had we acted alertly and boldly over the question of violation of human rights in Tibet, the Chinese marauders, instead of casting their covetous eyes on the sacred soil of India, would have turned to some other adventure.

Though India gave unstinted support to Tunisia, Morocco, East Africa and many other Afro-Asian countries who were clamouring for freedom, she was forthright in denunciating the policy of racial segregation practised in South Africa. India also refused to sign the Japanese Peace Treaty because it failed to confer full sovereignty on Japan. for U.S.A retained the right of stationing her troops on the Japanese mainland. Pandit Nehru said as early as 1949, "Our main stake in world affairs is peace, to see that there is racial equality and that people who are subjected should be free". He also heartily exhorted for the implementation of Geneva agreement on Indo-China and wished for holding peaceful elections in Vietnam. He has also given a clarion call for bringing about a general disarmament and non proliferation of nuclear weapons, because he thought that this wishful

thinking and mad race for armaments would spell disaster upon mankind.

Non-alignment is the very quintessence and crux of her foreign policy. India has abstained herself from all the power groupings and military pacts. Her role has been throughout that of a neutralist and a non-aligned nation, always keeping herself aloof from the mutual wranglings and cold war tactics of various powers.

The massive military invasion by Communist China over India in 1962, exposed the Chinese perfidy. Since then, we have become all the more aware about the insidious designs of China, who has also been as aggressor in Korea and Tibet. The superb document of international diplomacy, which goes in the name of 'Panch-Shila' and to which China was the first signatory, was thrown to winds by Red China China, as a matter of fact, has been the villain of the piece of the whole world. Pakistan has also been guilty as an aggressor, when she launched a full fledged military invasion of India in Sept., 1965, and since then continues to keep the seething atmosphere of hostility and hatred towards India.

In the light of above facts it has become imperative for India to adopt a tough line towards all such powers who want to encroach upon India's territorial integrity and sovereignty. We should tread on the path of realism. The very corner-stone of our foreign policy should be to serve the enlightened national self-interest of the country. As Palmerstone replied when he was asked as to who is your friend and foe, "Britain has no permanent friends. Britain has no permanent foes. Britain has only permanent interests." So should be our policy.

In the present context of world politics the centre of political gravity has been shifted from Europe to Asia The emergence of Pindi Peking axis is a grim reality on Asian soil, the existence of which jeopardises the basic interests of India, the biggest landmark of democracy in South East Asia In this confusing situation, India must explore fields fresh and pastures new on the Asian soil. In diplomacy

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enemy's enemy is friend. Thus we should start a diplomatic dialogue with all such countries as are the enemies of our enemies. We should bring an 'entente cordiale' with Japan, Nepal, Phillipines, Thailand, Formosa and Israel, in order to counteract this sinister authoritarian grouping, while at the same time keeping cordial relations with Arab countries.

Politics is not sacrosanct. It is not an exact science. Policies are not dogmas or doctrines. They change to the tune of time, place and circumstance, keeping in view the vital national interests. The recent tergiversations in world politics, when there was a debate in U. N. on Indo-Pak conflict, have amply exposed as to who is our friend or foe We shall have to make a thorough reappraisal of our foreign policy and reorientate on such lines as suit the national interests and geo-political setting of our country. We should bid good-bye to such slogans which shatter the image of India abroad and expound our foreign policy on more rational and realistic lines, keeping in view the best and enlightened self-interests of the nation.

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21 SPACE TRAVEL

Since times immemorial, mankind has been trying to conquer time and distance and at last the hierarchy of modern scientists have been able in translating this dream of humanity into reality.

The launching in the U S S.R. of tiny cosmic laboratories and the artificial man-made satellites or the lealy moons as the Russians call it or I.C.B.M. of Sputnik I or II in uniformity with the I.G.Y. programme is a highly and most important practical step on the way to cosmos. This news has not only facilitated us to study the density and the chemical composition of the upper layers of the atmosphere, but has also solved the problem of interplanetary communication. On Oct. 4, 1957, Soviet Union made a history. These scientific gadgets in the name of Rockets and Sputniks proved a landmark in the history

Then came a time when the world heard the news regarding Russian space-ship named Vostok I when they sent a man named Yuri Gagarin, who landed safely on the pre-determined spot. Just after this on May 5, 1961, Americans broke the news by intruding into the outer space a cosmonaut named Alan Shepherd, who also came back safely. So there started a space race between these two big representatives of the two opposing power blocs. Capt Virgil Grissom was the second American astronaut who set upon in a capsule atop Redstone rocket and landed safely. (July 11, 1961) On August 26, 1961, Major Gherman Titov of Soviet Union went in Vostok II, who also found time to broadcast messages of greetings to the leaders and peoples of countries he flew over.

All these are milestones towards the ultimate goal, space travel. Russian scientists have also reported that in the near future they will create laboratories in the cosmos, where organic metabolism will originally take place, and artificial living conditions will be created there.

But before this hazard into the outer space was started scientists had to explore all the difficulties and drawbacks to be experienced in the upper layers of the atmosphere like the scarcity of oxygen, the danger from infra red and ultra-violet radiations, the disintegration of meteors, and weightlessness and extra-terrestrial environments etc. The present space craft shows that almost all the above-mentioned difficulties have been solved.

The first double space flight was carried out between Aug. 11-15 by two Russian cosmonauts—Major A. Nikolayev and Lt. Cd. Papel Popovich—in space ship launched within 24 hours of each other. During their flight their capsules came within 4 miles of each other and both could communicate with each other during flight.

But one question which is generally asked by a layman runs like this: "Do all these scientific and highly technical discoveries and inventions trying to redeem humanity ?" From the pronouncements of Soviet states-

men and politicians it can be emphatically said that these people tried to misuse these achievements. They were simply enhancing their political supremacy by mentioning these new gadgets in science. Most of the Russian politicians utilized these marvellons adventures in space as a means of preaching and practising communism. They made it as a spurt of communist propaganda.

So it is this attitude which mars the universal outlook. Scientific achievements transcend barriers and boundaries of the nations and thus become universal and those principles are studied by one and all. But the Soviet political professors and press lords paid least heed to this aspect and mixed science with politics thus intensifying cold war. They tried to terrorize the whole world into communism by mentioning their far advanced scientific contrivances.

Thus if we really want to get some benefit from this space research in particular and other scientific inventions in general then it is most essential to keep cold war miles away from science otherwise these inventions will become a bane instead of boon to humanity. Spacecraft will explore deeper into the cosmology of this universe and will help solve the mysteries of Mars, moon and other planets Flying laboratories will tell us about the exact scientific data of cosmosphere, photosphere and chromosphere and still upper layers of the atmosphere Geophysical observatories, both manned and automatic, flying round will be of great importance and use for weather forecasting.

The successful launching at Cape Canaveral, of a communication satellite Telstar, on July 10, 1962 was a historic landmark in global communication, which transmitted the first live' television pictures between the U.S. and Europe. This first 'live' television broadcast from U S. to Europe and vice versa, relayed by Telstar, was seen on both sides of the Atlantic on July 23, 1962, by hundreds of millions of viewers.

As a matter of fact, this hazard into the outer space is of great potential value to the cosmographers and space scientists for making a revelation as to what exists beyond earth and to put that knowledge for the greatest good of mankind, the recent soft landing at our Moon is another terrific feat of scientific skill. The time is not far off when people, would have pleasure-trips to Moon and Mars, in the gadgets of science. This rendezvous in outer-space is indeed the most marvellous miracle of modern science and technology.

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22. DEMOCRACY

In this world of conflicting ideologies and astounding political systems, the entire mankind is confronted with two leading political philosophies; first, the totalitarian, one, according to which the individual is just meant for the power and glory of the state, and fulfils himself in service to the dictator; the highest virtues being discipline, obedience, courage, self-sacrifice and, second, the democratic one, the so very antonym of dictatorship, according to which the state exists for the sake of the individual to develop his own personality and outlook as a member of the community.

Democracy has been well defined by Abraham Lincoln, who states, it is the government for the people, of the people and by the people. But this term is not of American origin but has its flowering on the Greek soil and to Greeks, democracy was not merely a form of government but also a way of life. Our present President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the philospher-statesman, also holds the same view regarding democracy. To him it is the way of life. The very institution of democracy crystallized the darkest tyrranies and brutal injustices which prevailed in the past. The political history of the world is full of various political systems which existed in the past. There have been anarchies and diarchies, monarchies and oligarchies. So have been autocracies and plutocracies, ochlocracies

and democracies. Pericles, one of the leading luminaries of history and a stout democrat, speaks in his famous funeral oration, "Our constitution is named a democracy because it is in the hands not of few, but of many", and goes on, "Our laws secure equal justice for all in their private disputes," and adds: "We have no black looks or angry words for our neighbour if he enjoys himself in his own way." So in his conception democracy stands for the liberty and freedom of the individual, an individual is an important link of the machinery of the state 'Democracy, as a term is as vast and wide, as the gigantic Himalayas. It involves accommodation and tolerance, liberty and justice.

A true democrat is of the opinion that all the dictators and oligarchs of the world have failed in delivering goods to the masses while in a democratic se-tup the very sense and spirit of the common man is revered and respected Individual liberty is the vital breath of democracy. Mary Emerson Fosdick truly says. "Democracy is based upon the conviction that there are extraordinary possibilities in ordinary people." A democrat is an optimist and believes in the human nature. As Rousse would have it. "Man is born free but he is always found in chains", sounded the tocsin of democracy on the French soil and in the wake of French Revolution the notes of democracy were heard in the French populace which also exhilarated William Wordsworth, who song cheerfully, "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive, but to be young was very heaven". Wordsworth felt the joy and triumph of democratic process as it descended on the country of France. He hoped of the advent of an era which will herald the human happiness, liberty, equality and fraternity.

' The present world, too, is apparently divided into two blocs, the one Anglo-American representing the institution of democracy and free-enterprise, while the other is known as Communist bloc of which China, U.S S.R. and some other East European countries are the staunch members. Democracy has

taken strong and deep roots in America and it is the most prosperous and affluent country of the world today. The very heightened image of America is an answer to the critics of democracy. While Russia after the Russian Revolution of 1917, has also progressed considerably, especially in the field of science and technology, but the way in which the dictatorial regime was installed in Moscow in 1917 and its aftermath is known to one and all. The periods of Lenin and Stalin in Soviet Russia have been described as the periods of mass murder and massacre. People have no liberty to speak and write, while press is also a controlled one in an authoritarian country. There are other many restrictions as well. Children are considered to be the property of the state. But in a true democracy, an individual has his voice and press its freedom. Masses are the very makers of the Government. While for the successful running of a democracy, it is absolutely necessary to have a mass base of educated peopl . As Sir Robert Walpole, one time Prime Minister of England, said, that "for the success of democracy, we must educate the masses. An educated vote is a boon for the country, while an uneducated vote may prove a bane for the country."

We have before us 'democratic governments of various hues and colours, masquerading as guided democracy here and basic democracy there. But the political system which has been adopted by India since its very inception is truly a democratic process and its successful running for the last eighteen years is a tribute to the institution of democracy Our government is democratic, our constitution is democratic, it enjoins the freedom of speech, expression, and assembly. These very virtues of democracy are enshrined in our constitution. With the three general elections over and the fourth n the offing, proves how this democratic spirit has been imbibed and inculcated among our people. Ours is the largest democracy in the whole world, while Americans is the biggest democracy.

There is a popular thinking that political democracy is not enough but what is simultaneously required is

democracy in the economic sphere, or in the words of J.A. Hobson, Effective political democracy is unobtainable without economic equality." "What good is freedom to a starving man ? He cannot eat freedom and drink it. Economic equality may not be the very summum bonum of a democrat. But every true democrat must believe in economic security and a minimum standard of living That dictators have some advantages over the democrats is indubitable. They can bring about drastic changes within a short period. But no dictator of the world can be trusted as a true representative of his country's populace and he can resort to the fulfilment of his own fads and fancies, his whims and likings even at the cost of common man.

Trotsky has wisely put it. "No body who has wealth to distribute ever omits himself." It is only in a democratic set-up that the very fate and fortune of the country lies in the hands of masses and they can elect or vote for an organisation which stands for the welfare of the common man, the downtrodden ones, the general run of humanity. Only democracy can promise the economic and political security of the teeming millions in groaning poverty. Democracy endeavours to maintain the dignity and respect of the individual and individuals or groups can resort to free, frank and full discussions. "The cure to the ills of democracy is not less democracy, but more democracy," as is said by Alfred E. Smith.

A great American columnist and political exponent has to say, "The free man's way of life rests upon the conviction that no man or no set of men are wise enough or good enough to determine the destinies of mankind. That is why liberty is one of the conditions of human progress." Democrats cherish all the ideals which are for the pleasure and profit of mankind There must be a mode of thinking in which the whole mankind should be loved. All democrats should have a kindly feeling to mankind at large. This is the belief of Bertrand Russell as well. If the institution of democracy is to survive, it must have its forte to serve humanity and love all.

In a democracy, there should be the evolution of a classless society and no quarter should be given to partisan, communal feelings. Even one born in a poorest family can, by virtue of his qualities and merits, rise to the topmost position in the country. The late lamentcd Prime Minister of India, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri rose from the humble beginnings to be the Prime Minister of this country. This is the real test of a democracy.

As everything in this world has merits and demerits, so has democracy. The one danger from which democracy suffers is the art of modern propaganda. The Press, radio, television alike can propagate anything to the detriment of the whole nation. For this the masses must be politically awakened. There should be political consciousness among the masses so that their energies may be well directed to suit the whole nation. The second danger is that of the economic condition of the people. Their condition and standard of living must improve with the passage of time, otherwise, there is something serious and unavoidable, which may topple the very citadel of democracy. The third danger to democracy is war. War is the enemy of democracy, as it is the science of destruction. The war brings in its wake misery, poverty, famine and starvation, which are symptoms for stemming the process of authoritarianism ; so peace is most conducive to democracy.

Now-a-days the whole world is undergoing democratisation and even a country like U.S.S.R. who has been the mouthpiece of twentieth century communism is diverting from the path of dictatorship and this decline of dicattorial trends is quite evident from the change which occurred after the death of Stalin. The entire Russia was de-Stalinized during Khruschevian era as the victorious Allied powers undertook the task of de-Nazification and de-fascistation in Germany and Japan during World War II. The forces of tyranny, cruelty and injustice are finding it difficult to grow on the ground of countries which have leapt forward from the state of ignorance and illiteracy to that of literacy and education. The enlightened mind is convinced by the hopes and

aspirations which democracy cherishes. The future must be made safer for democracy and from the prevailing political scene, it can be said, in a note of optimism, that the coming times are very ripe for the institution of democracy.

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23. ONE WORLD GOVERNMENT

The idea to establish one world government is not altogether a new one. Though this thought has gained momentum in the post-World War I and II periods, these two gigantic wars in the first half of the twentieth century brought in their wake, misery, poverty, famine, hunger, starvation and annihilation. This dreadful development of two World Wars and the horrible spectre shocked and stunned all the people devoted and dedicated to the very cause of world peace and goodwill among nations. All these horrible happenings have necessitated the world scientists and statesmen, seers and [illegible] to explore the [illegible] vorld authority, [illegible] nequalities and [illegible] the renowned scholar-statesman-scientist Mr. Bertrand Russell who would have been a king in Plato's republic, is the arch protagonist of this idea and emphasized nth times in his writings and speeches for the establishment of a world authority.

Twentieth century has proved to be a fertile field for the growth and development of bewildering flux of ideas and ideals. It is difficult to dub this century with a specific term. Because it is the most scientific age, the most religious age. The most dynamic age, the most static age The most enlightened age, the most ignorant age. It is the most advanced age, it is the most degraded age. It is the most rational age, it is the most confounding age. Every ideological thought-stream is having its own way to flow. There are guided democracies and

basic democracies. There are free democracies and controlled democracies. There are dictatorships and semi-dictatorships. There are monarchies, anarchies and oligarchies. There are bureaucracies, autocracies, ochlocracies and plutocracies. In this century wrought with this jungle of political systems and farrago of confusions, every social order or political system is out to maintain its supremacy over the rest. In the last two decades, quite a sizable portion of the globe has achieved freedom from the colonial and imperial countries. These newly freed countries want to maintain their individuality while the rest are struggling to be born. This has led to the love of national interests, national boundaries and national problems which has thwarted the leaders to extend the area of their interest beyond their geographical entities. They think in terms of their own countries and do not bring the totality of humanity in their purview. Moreover the artificial division of this world into two political and military groups: one U.S.S.R., the representative of communism or socialism *alias* authoritarianism or totalitarianism and the other Anglo American bloc, the representative of capitalism and democracy, has further thwarted the peace moves and stability of the nations. There has been going on a sort of cold war between these two rival blocs that may burst into a bigger conflagration. No doubt, there have been the formation of military pacts like CENTO, NATO and MEDO by the capitalist bloc to check the eddying forces of communism as well as to maintain peace. But let it not be forgotten, that peace springs from the heart of the man and there is no outer source from where it is to come: To maintain their supremacy of thought, each bloc is busy in her race for armaments. Stockpiling of lethal weapons of war is going on at an alarming rate. The cult of militarism is increasing day by day. U.N O. has been created as an arbitrator, adjudicator or mediator to solve the disputes between intra-antions and international, but still we have to find the validity and utility of its existence. League of Nations came into being after World War I, but it failed to do justice to the nations and at last this world was engulfed in

the major holocaust of World War II, thus throwing to winds all the international pacts and obligations.

Every country is crying from the house-tops that her way of life is best for the whole humanity and that they are the self appointed guardians of humanity. That God has ordained them to be saviours of human race This tradition has grown up for centuries past. We had Rome and the Carthage; we had Greece and the barbarians; we looked upon Islam as the apostasy of Christianity, and the crusades occurred. There was a deadening conflict between hierarchy of Catholics and Protestants. We have before us a direct clash between the Axis Powers and Allied Powers.

With such a presentation of ideas on the world stage, the very concept of one world government seems Utopian and impracticable At a time when the world is seeking refuge under the garb of disarmament, these very nations are busy in a race of armaments Armament is not the abuse of world tension but a result of it. 'Militarism has been by far the commonest cause of the breakdowns of civilization'. Napoleon, the Kaiser, Mussolini, Hirohito and Hitler proclaimed that their arms are meant for the 'defence' and the maintenance of peace. *And the whole world witnessed real contents of pious wishes.*

It is generally conceded that every nation has the right to self-determination. Self-determination or plebiscite if exercised without caution and wisdom may lead to a nation falling a prey to the prevailing ideology. The case of Germany is an eye opener to the world. Now Pakistan is also harping on the same theme, *i.e.*, to exercise plebiscite in Kashmir and everybody knows the result of such a move.

The other obstacle hindering the very idea of world
world is
beings to
l barriers.
to worship

any God and to go to any place of worship—you will attain spiritual salvation. But Islam and Christianity preach some different schools of thought while Hinduism is the great sea where all other faiths mingle because of its tolerance, accommodation and magnanimity. Hinduism regards that the lamps may be different but the illumination is the same; that the cows may be of different colours, but the milk they give is white; the fuel may be different but the fire is exactly the same. Religion must not consist in dogmatic conformity or ritualistic piety. Every religion should have as its basis integral humanism, then and then only the dream of world authority will come to its realization.

Of all the 'isms', Universalism is the only spark, the ray of hope in this idea-ridden and war-torn world. Universalism should serve as a guiding angel to humanity. Every individual's rights and privileges should be respected. There should be growth of cosmopolitan outlook and utilitarianism should be infused into the lives of the people. This has been the bedrock of ancient heritage. Human needs are the same everywhere whether it is east or west. It is just a matter of time before the remnants of ethnological, anthropological, political and religious distinctions will settle down to create a synthesis of various divergent human species into a homogeneous, compact world community. We must remember the motto, "The whole world is my country, all mankind my brethren, and to do good is my religion."

Nationalism or commercialism alone will not pay rich dividends to India. It is universalism. We must shun self-determination rather opt the path of self-conquest and self-dedication, the surest guarantee to world peace, than all these deluding military pacts and doctrines. The soil of India is such that it is very much susceptible and vulnerable to such ideologies like universalism, scientific humanism and this has been the doctrine of preachers and teachers of India. They have respected each and every thing of the world by following the maxim, "This, that and all else'. It is such attitude which has raised and

promises to raise the image of India in the eyes of the world.

In this world of chaos and confusion, when the frozen streams of cold war and mutual rivalries between nations are going on, the ray of an early establishment of a central world authority seems to be bleak and remote, until and unless there is a change of hearts and minds. It is extraordinary to note how the powerful and power mad countries of the world are stockpiling the lethal weapons of war and at the same time deluding us by singing the songs of disarmament and world peace. It is a paradox. Nay, it is self-deception !

If the world humanity really wants to weave itself in the fabric of one world community, world state, world government and world citizenship, then these things require to be done. The renunciation of violence on the part of individual nations and the investment of the central authority with all the instruments of coercion. Secondly, sources of disorder and disquiet, inequalities, colonialism, racial segregation and so on will have to be given up. In the last, the whole world will have to strive for the establishment of a community of purposes, common ideals and objectives.

So after treading on the aforesaid path, there can be the confluence of the Orient and the Occident, of the east and the west, and this meeting process is on because of modern science and technology which have shortened the world, made it diminutive while the countries have become just neighbouring provinces. These lines of Rudyard Kipling : 'East is East and West is West, And never the twain can meet,' sound obsolete, effete and outworn in the present context of world situation. And the day is not far off when this dream of philosophers and philanthropists will be translated into reality.

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24. COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING

The question to impart compulsory military training to every able-bodied citizen of India was gaining momentum in the minds of the ruling junta of our country, but the unprovoked and wanton aggression by perfidious, hostile, treacherous, expansionist and extra-territorialist Communist China on the sacred soil of our country resulting in severe set-backs and reverses to Indian military might in 1962, has certainly compelled and convinced the custodians and guardians of our country to raise the strength of Indian Armed Forces to superior numbers. Moreover the just outbreak of hostilities between India and Pakistan has made all the more clear about the role which the defending forces play in safeguarding the territorial and national interests of the country. These two invasions by the enemies over our country have provided ample food for thought to utter the slogan—'Militarize the Nation.'

By militarizing the nation, we will not be raising an army of millions to fight wars with bullets and bayonets but to 'fight' many wars of other kinds on the economic, industrial, mental, moral and health battle-fields.

What we have been lacking in for some considerable time, and lacking very sadly, are a mass discipline and national character We are also lacking in many other attributes of a good soldier—quality of team spirit, loyalty, sense of duty, value of time, dignity of labour, selflessness, simplicity of character, strength of courage, and a spirit of good fellowship regardless of our communities. All these qualities of head and heart which are so essentially required, pruned and picked in the minds and brains of all Indians to build a nation of people of sterling character, are developed by Military Training.

Every country has its own aims and objects of education. Some countries have as their goal of education nationalism and patriotism, while some other countries lay special emphasis on the formation of character, health and mind on sound lines and firm footings. Spartans

had as the only goal of their education—militarism. Because the life of a soldier presents a significant and world of difference to the life of a civilian, or to a man who is not a soldier. They are as different as chalk from cheese. [illegible] dedicated [illegible] of the lat[illegible] country needs people to work as soldiers do. It is for this important reason that various countries advocate Compulsory Military Training.

Military training can be put to many civilian uses. It teaches one to obey and to command. It teaches one to lead and to be lead. Military training has for its goal to teach people to be prepared to make any self-sacrifice even the supreme one of being ready to give one's life for a cause to his people and to his comrades-in-arm. It teaches one to place service above self. To the soldier, it is the duty first and then his food and rest and so on. He does not go in quest of opportunities to gain personal power, nor to amass wealth, both of which, alas ! are the real curse of our land to-day. Instead he goes in quest of opportunities to serve his people and his country, in the noble career he has voluntarily chosen to serve in.

A few glaring examples of lofty militarism need mention in order to know how this very spirit to serve one's country is considered to be as the greatest sacrifice which one can make. It was this very spirit of militarism, which brought soldier and statesman, Sir Winston Churchill, on the political stage of England, during her most crisis-ridden period of World War II, when the very boat of England was tottering amidst the whirlpool of Hitler's fascism. It was the brave and devoted Sir Winston Churchill who saved the convulsing [illegible] from the wrath of Nazis and brought it out from the morbid morass and sordid scourge of war. It was the military training which lighted the [illegible] conviction in the courageous commander [illegible] who faced the enemy battery during the bombardment at Trafalgar. It was this very spirit of [illegible]

discipline imbibed and inculcated in Napoleon, for which France is so proud of its hero. It was this noble idealism which moved Guru Gobind Singh, Rana Pratap and Shivaji against the inhuman acts of atrocities, enormities and barbarities perpetrated on Hindus by the alien invaders and rulers, that this 'trinity in Indian nationalism' gave a mortal blow to their acts of cruelty and brutality.

We know that this mass conscription will take time to complete and it will cost a fortune but look at the rich dividends the nation will get from a cadre of disciplined and dedicated people working in farms and factories and other vocations in the huge machinery of India's life. People, then, will have the qualities of a good soldier, and their qualities will goad him to get on with his work instead of just talking. It will first make him to put duty first and then personal comfort, to think of country's progress and not his personal gains. The yield in our factories will increase, the produce in our fields will leap forward, the business transactions, the civil administration of our country and of a host of other activities in this noble and glorious adventure of nation building work will be galvanized. There will be less corruption and less nepotism and all other ills which all our administration in the present hour would be considerably eliminated. Men will move about as men should do and there will be no idle lounging, hanging about during working hours for coffee, tea-breaks and gossips. The atmosphere will be vibrant with activity. Let people not think it mere fantasy, but a reality.

Military training helps in the times of emergency in safeguarding the interests of the citizens. These military trained persons can be given sentry duties during day and night and can handle and fire revolvers and rifles, can play team games which increases team spirit.

Every able-bodied person between the ages of eighteen and forty years should be imparted this military education three days in a week, at four hours a day for 30

working days, finishing up with a one week's camp life in bivouacs and tents, when everyone will fire rounds of ball ammunition with his rifle and revolver.

This will be a gigantic undertaking for any country, but it has got to be done to stir up and awaken the sleeping Kumbhakarnas in our people to help get a virile nation, to build up India more rapidly and more profitably all round, to form a reservoir of disciplined and dedicated cadre of tough men ready to take up arms in times of threat and crisis and especially in the present moment, when the far flung frontiers of our country are threatened and outstripped by the countries who just happen to be on the periphery of India With the ever looming danger from the expansionist and malafide Red China and a hostile Pakistan, it becomes imperative for our country to raise such slogans which can serve as the watch word of our country at the present critical situation. 'Militarize the Nation' should be the motto at this moment [illegible] uneasy [illegible] bigger [illegible]

As a subjugated race for a long time, we have lost our spirit, of initiative and spirit of adventure and enterprise. We want everything done for us by some one else. It is from this lethargy that we must be woken up or else will be left behind in the race of progress in this highly technical and scientific world of to-day. Military training will certainly wake up the nation from its long slumber.

So let us give this matter of great national importance a serious thought. The training will be carried out on a carefully worked out phased programme. For this a small high powered committee of some active and earnest minded persons consisting of military experts, astute politicians, could make a thorough study of this matter and prepare a national plan which would help in boosting the morale of Indian people. This para-military organisation will prove not only as a second line of defence

but would work effectively and constructively and with courage and determination in driving out the last vestiges of intruders, invaders and infiltrators on our sacred soil. This is the dire need of the hour and the very sound of our motherland at this juncture.

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25. NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Having been the inhabitants of this land for thousands of years a full-fledged nation, we are now engaged in the task of defining and achieving the term, 'the national and emotional integration—the very import and implication of this concept—a concept, which at present is craving and corroding some of the most excellent minds of our country, whether they are politicians or press-leaders, scholars or psychologists, statesmen or thinkers, renowned writers or religious reformers, savants or sages, due to the abrupt rise and growth of disruptive and disintegrative forces in the body politic of India.

The very problem of national and emotional integration is not the problem of yesterday, or day before yesterday but it is an age-old problem and its origin goes back deep down the centuries of human existence. This issue also confronted our ancestors and ascendents.

The problem of integration—national or emotional—for our country is by no means an easy one. Through the ages right from the legendary to the historical times—we have lived as congeries of small kingdoms, princedoms and principalities ; politically and socially and economically we have functioned in small watertight birth communities. We have been historically, culturally and religiously very tolerant people ; and while conforming, broadly speaking, to outward form, we have all had our own beliefs in matters of religion. Nobody has desired to interfere anybody else in the way anyone has tried to solve the mystery of creation or has sought to find his God. That explains the flourishing of different religions in our country, and no other land presents the superb sight of houses of

worship of different faiths, temples and taverns, mosques and churches and gurdwaras standing side by side in the same street. By nature we have been an intensely individualistic people, and have valued our personal freedom above everything.

Thus keeping such a traditional and tolerant attitude towards the people in our country in the past which was a well-knit and well united nation we have before our eyes at present a dirty development of disastrous degeneration of a dirty drama, in the form of organisations and units, who work, purport and propound their causes by making rapidly communal, utterly provincial on sectarian appeals and thus are well on the way to exploiting the ignorant masses of our country, thereby channelising the energy of the country on the road of exploitation and extravagance, disintegration and disruption, in their desperate bid to jeopardise the freedom of our country, which we won after undergoing for so long all the sufferings and sorrows, troubles, tortures and tyrannies at the hands of foreign domination ever happened in human history.

It is a sad commentary on the part of our learned scholars, professors and political pundits alike, that they have been quite a failure to root out the monstrous communalism in its various forms which is now speedily prevailing in the country. In the pre-independence era, the Britishers encouraged the growth and rise of fissiparous trends and tendencies by creating majority and minority groups based on religious and castle affinities and giving special [illegible] This policy [illegible] major [illegible] ideology [illegible] oted into communal riots of the gravest magnitude, and thus this all drama ultimately culminated in the division of the Motherland and formed Pakistan. Though this move to divide India is very very old and all these years this hate Hindu campaign gained momentum and ultimately succeeded in 1947.

If we really want to put an end to such communal and sectarian tendencies,we shall have to abolish them, the term like minority and majority, which I think, are misnomers in political context. When every minority community enjoys the fundamental rights, enshrined in our constitution, then it is altogether absurd to dub them by such terms. The origin of these terms goes back to the post-World War I and II periods, when there was a reshuffling of nations—some Hungarians were left in Poland, and these Hungarian nationals though living in Poland, were termed as minority community. Some Germans were left in Russia. So these nationals of Germany, though temporarily living in Russia as its honorary citizens, were termed as minority community. But such is not the case with the minorities living in our country. These are the nationals of this country like other majority communities. So arises the necessity of deleting these terms.

Again casteism, linguistic fanaticism and provincial jingoism and regional emotionalism stem forth from the wrong classification, which we have done in our country in regard to various clans and tribes. We have before us scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes. This is the wrong criterion of backwardness. What we should count is the economic backwardness and not backwardness based upon birth, creed or colour. If it is done like this, it will pave the way for the integration of the country.

Another error was that of division of the country on linguistic basis. This thing has placed the country on narrow feelings among the people, because they think in terms of provincialism rather the country as an entity. The leaders with their pledge to raise the standard of 'submerged tenths', the downtrodden, the rejected and dejected of society, in the social and economic scale, guaranteed some special concessions for them, such as reservation of posts in administration and seats in legislatures and making itself advertently instrumental in sowing the seeds of dissension among various castes and thus giving rise to narrow casteism. So we shall have to

eliminate all such malodorant schemes, which produce hatred and contempt among various sections.

Now let us discuss the problem of disintegration on a wider scale. The symptom of disintegration is not confined to this country only, but it is worldwide as it is evident from Congo debacle, Vietnam crisis. Korean tangle and Berlin [illegible] ause of [illegible] gration [illegible] Gita [illegible] and the most distressing aspect of this disequilibrium is what I venture to call the loss of personality complete or partial. The American philosopher Emerson is right when he says, "Most people are other people, their talks are some one else's opinion, their lives are a mimicry and even their fashions are a quotation."

To understand the very concept of integration—emotional or national, let us compare our concept of unity with the United States of America. Are the various groups that reside in that vast country, integrated emotionally? Has the experiment of evolving a composite culture and composite nationality been successful on the American soil?

The national society of U.S.A. is not, as someone would have us believe, just as a congregation of whites, belonging to different European countries, retaining even after their integration their separate national languages, national cultures and affinities: That, there is a tendency, on the part of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants to build up social institutions of their own ancestral groups, within their ethnic enclaves, is indubitable But there has also been an effort—conscious or unconscious—on the part of 'host society' to acculturate the alien new-comers. The outstanding instrument of their acculturation is the Public School System with its free and compulsory education, turning out the typical American all the time.

The Indian theory of composite culture and composite nationality has its parallel in the 'Melting Pot' theory put

forward by Israel Zangwill, an English Jewish w
theory finds its best expression in Zangwill's dr
Melting Pot' whose hero David opines, "America
Crucible, the great melting pot, where all the
sects of Europe are melting and reforming.......
you stand in your fifty groups, with your fifty
and histories, and your fifty blood hatreds an
But you won't be long like that, brothers, for
the fires of God. A fig for your feuds and
Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and E
Jews and Russians – into the crucible with you
is making the American".

Thus our conception of composite culture,
nationality, a sort of crowded and choultry
would go tantamount to the very idea of nation
tion with brutal consequences. We are one,
we are citizens of the same state, it is we a
dia is one. Sallust said, "By union the sm
thrive, by discord the greatest are destroyed".

Now it is perfectly clear that to-day o
modern methods of propaganda and accel
communication of views, this dragooning of
and this regimentation of men's souls are ta
a great rate.

But it is a fact worth telling that there sho
in necessary things, liberty is most other
charity in all other things. There is intrin
tween unity and liberty, and Daniel We
says, "Liberty and Union, now and forever
separable.

In this poisonous forest of ugly thoughts a
emotions, the very human values are annihi
of this mass mentality, this crowd psy
dragooned way of thinking and acting. Peo
uniformity rather than unity.

History teaches us that fissiparous tende
will raise their head as soon as the strong h

them down is withdrawn. If a strong impartial Government can keep the states together for a long stretch of time operation of other nation building forces at work may bring about a real integration. But in the absence of such a Government, committees and conferences on integration—national or emotional and what not—are no better than pouring water in a leaky pot.

What we want at present is real emotional integration, the stir of a sense of pride in the past achievements of the nation, a consciousness of the possibilities of nation with such a past, in the present affairs of man and for the future of humanity. It is this that was true nationalism in India of ancient times, the nationalism which Veda Vyasa inspired in the nation. India considered as a mere geographical entity, can be split up, but India as an ideal is a unity that cannot be split up.

While the doctrine of conquerors and priests in other countries was : 'Only this and nothing else, while the doctrine of poets other promoters of culture in India has been 'This, that and all else.' It is unity based on this maximum which saved India from the fate of other nations. We must restore to India this ancient doctrine.

There is a school of thought which doubts the existence of India as a single nation. But I must say that this talk of a single nation may seem to some woolly headed nonsense. But, it is a fact, nevertheless. Only those people who have borrowed their ideas and ideals, theories and canons from the West, can refuse to recognise the existence of one, indivisible nation. Political thoughts may be misconstrued for their decisive approach. But the flora and fauna, the religions and relics, arts and architectures, love and literature, philosophy and plethora of other subjects are so abounding that none but the obstinate parasites can refuse to recognise the existence of a single, indivisible, homogeneous and well-united nation. And all other forces of communalism, chauvinism, provincialism, parochialism and all other obnoxious 'isms' came to India from outside after the close of first millenium.

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26. INDIA AS A DEMOCRATIC SECULAR STATE

India has been historically and traditionally, a cradle of religions and so the chief exponent of tolerance and accommodation. A peep into the past puts forward the view, that all the religions enjoyed equal status. There were places of different religions, in the very same locality, enjoying the air of freedom. The very acts of our past rulers and leaders, national heroes and heroines, brave fighters and chivalrous soldiers, the proud poets and prose-writers reveal and reflect the magnanimity of their minds and hearts which were as great as the mighty Himalayas. The doctrine of our scholars and savants has been, 'This, that and all else', while the doctrine of foreign scholars has been, 'This and nothing else'. It was this former conception of our renowned philosophers and stout nationalists that has been the very pole star of our ancient culture and civilization. The highest acts of tolerance and benevolence, of respect and reverence to the people of different religions and faiths, shown, preached and practised by the galaxy of Indian nationalists like Rana Partap and Shivaji, Guru Gobind Singh and Mahatma Gandhi, are the most glittering examples of the real stream of this thought, which we call by the name of secularism.

Thus when India achieved independence from the foreign yoke, the framers of our constitution enshrined the good and the great ideas of democracy and secularism in our constitution. A very many number of people simply ridiculed this idea of secular democracy in India. To the orthodox and the conventionalist, it meant the negation of all the religious value. While to other the declaration of this secular democracy meant a ray of hope and vision, an enlightenment of Indian way of life and living. Secularism, broadly speaking, is a mode of political thinking, according to which all the religions are respected by state, but nobody will suffer or benefit on account of the religion which he follows. Secularism, therefore, is the last to interfere with the growth of religion in the country; or with the lives of indivi-

[illegible] rticular [illegible] which [illegible] upon with sneer or cont mpt, hate or derision. It also least becomes of a Government to say to the *educational* authorities in the country that they must not impart religious or theocratic instruction to our young intellectuals.

There has been much furore over the word 'communalism.' If any Hindu talks about Hindus, he is dubbed communal If any Christian or Muslim talks about his own respective community, he is called communalist. But this one is a wrong interpretation of communalism. A man group or party is communal in [illegible]

The history of last about six decades in India has created a sort of complication in the minds of the politicians. The country was divided on the basis of two-naticn theory and all this happened by having a wrong conception of religion The two leading political parties in pre-Independence India, one known as Indian National Congress and the other Muslim League, appeared to have considered themselves as the guardians of Hindus and Muslims respectively which paved the way for partition, most unfortunate event in the annals of Indian history.

What is requred to-day is the proper conception of religion and also giving it maximum freedom. Every religion has the full right to flower in a secular society [illegible] must be guarded by a [illegible] community living [illegible] heritage of India [illegible] way. Rather there should be no term such as minority. Earlier we do away with it, the better it is.

There is a loud talk in some quarters [illegible] predominantly a Hindu country. Certainly, it

ry. But the very thriving of other communities ssing their faith in different gods and goddesses is stimony to our secularism and shows Hinduism as a and wide religion having broad outlook and respects other religions and their way of worships. But it is d fact that some of the political parties have made gion as the basis of their politics and distribute tickets caste and communal basis, which indeed, is a dangerous enomenon, and if it went unchecked, it might give a adly blow to all our ideals of a secular society. We ust rise above all the levels of communalism, casteism, hauvinism, provincialism and parochialism and start hinking ourselves to be Indian first and everything last. Then and then we can get rid of all these evils which afflict our society.

Our constitution is essentially a secular one and demo-cratic one. Every religion is given fair treatment and no religion can claim that it has got a second rate treatment. But still the doubts which are lurking latently in the minds of men will have to be dispelled. That section of the people which considers itself to be under-privileged, will have to be brought on par with other cross-sections of Indian community. There should not be any voice complaining of disparity and social inequality. To avoid all this everyone must be imparted a right type of education and all such groups and parties who seek special concession on the basis of their caste, creed or community or demand a separate piece of land must be dealt with properly. We have not forgotten yet the pangs of partition and this further truncation of territory must not be allowed

But our success of secularism has not met the required expectations or reached the summit of our hopes. We see to-day the fate of our fellow brethren in the foreign countries and their state in the hands of local wolves of their countries is merely shocking and stunning but it is fraught with all the acts of murder, loot and blood-shed. Our secularism has not been able to pay us the dividends as we calculated it to be. The hazardous

happenings in East Pakistan during the last two years are of grave nature. The treatment meted out to Hindus in Burma, Ceylon, Trinidad and such countries which still practise racialism and segregation, deserves condemnation. For this to put an end we must be sound and strong at home and should make to realize other countries that this sort of rough treatment to our minorities abroad can lead to dangerous consequences.

At home, Kashmir is the symbol of country's secularism. The recent resistance given by Kashmiris to the treacherous and insidious infiltrators of Pakistan is noteworthy This spot and symbol of secularism has answered in a befitting way to the dictatorial regime of Pakistan based on theocracy and communalism, who, in the name of Islam, are out to mesmerize and hypnotize the Indian Muslims and all their attempts to woo them or cajole them to follow their pronouncements have failed miserably. The neighbouring hostile states do not want this political process to flourish and are in their desperate bid to topple the dome of our democracy and secularism Our country has answered to them once and will give answer again if provoked with the same courage, bravery and valour.

But to make this all sounder, we must strive to achieve the pinnacle of socialism as a socialistic society ensures the *success of secularism.*

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27. IS MODERN CIVILIZATION A FAILURE ?

In this age of thought-provoking ideas one of the questions which is usually put by the religious divines and social scientists is, I modern civilization is failure ? Has it really advanced ? Is it out to bestow upon humanity all necessities of life or is it out to rob humanity from all its spiritual and social values ? These are some of the confounding and contradistinctive questions which need answering fully and rightly.

At the very outset no one can claim that [illegible] civilization is a complete failure or a complete [illegible] Modern civilization is a complex affair. [illegible]

rally remain divided on the subject. A comprehensive analysis of all the pros and cons of this twentieth century civilization will do justice to the subject. A civilization which is just like a hydra-headed monster, in the sense, it is the most religious civilization, it is the most irreligious civilization, it is the most scientific civilization, it is the most unscientific civilization, it is the most affluent civilization, it is the most poor civilization, it is the highly technological society, while at the same time it is the most conventional and orthodox society with the people steeped in the crotchets and conundrums of the past. On the whole it is the most varied, wide and vast civilization having different religions and relics, mores and manners, customs and cosmetics, but it is this scientific civilization which is dominating the very life and living of this human race in 20th century.

The impact of science on the present civilization is tremendous and stupendous and it has almost changed the very structure of this modern civilization. Scientific progress has brought in its wake the deadening specialization and industrial capitalism that this modern society has become most materialistic and mammon idealistic. This scientific Renaissance has altogether changed the very face of our civilization. While it promises humanity to provide all the boons which are considered to be the sine qua non of humanity, at the same time the scientific minds have released such an enormous amount of energy that if it is wrongly channelled, it will surely sound the death-knell of this scientific civilization.

So arises the question that if modern society wants to survive, then it must either negate the offshoots and reliefs of this scientific civilization or learn enough to live in this forest of scientific contrivances and amazing scientific inventions and discoveries. But it is a bit difficult to seclude ourselves from the paradise of science. So we must then adapt ourselves to the very norms and ethics of this scientific civilization. The comfort and relief, which science has bestowed on us, must be enjoyed properly and scientific inventions applied in a right

way. Otherwise the grim and ghastly sight and scene over the accursed land of Hiroshima and Nagasaki will always remain a standing monument to the cruelties and brutalities of this modern, morbid and materialistic civilization.

Thus this civilization will have to learn if it wants to [illegible] age. [illegible] h the [illegible] same [illegible] mis- [illegible] nd.

The success or failure of this twentieth century civilization mainly depends as to how humanity uses the boons of science, the fruits of science. For this least blame is to be put upon scientists. The scientific mind strives to conquer ignorance, illeteracy, epidemics, diseases, want, hunger and poverty, but it is the political mind, the power mad mind which tries to use these pure and pious scientific tools to further his own ulterior motive. This thing is quite clear from the prevailing political world scene. The Russian politicians and statesmen made the Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile or Sputnik I and Sputnik II, and other rockets as the instruments of communist propaganda. The hierarchy of science in modern times is considered to be a pedestal to vociferate their ideological politics, which indeed is bad. As such science must be kept aloof from cold war.

If not, this cold war which has already gnawed the vitals of politics, will certainly gnaw the realm of science. If it continues like this, then we are bound to say that modern civilization is treading on the path of perdition, ruin and destruction.

There is one charge which is often put against the modern civilization that it has robbed humanity of all the values and ideals which are considered to be a must for the survival of human race. People, no doubt, care least for love, philosophy, religion, spiritualism, faith and literature. They have become so money-minded that thi-

material scourge may prove disastrous. It may devastate the dome of our civilization. The predominance of sciene has removed from the scene the galaxy of religious and spiritual luminaries. Such a state has been satirically depicted by Aldous Huxley, in his famous "This Brave New World."

On the whole, modern civilization will have to choose the middle path if it really wants to progress and reach the pinnacle of material prosperity and intellectual awakening. It is difficult to do so without science as it is equally difficult to do without arts. Sciences and humanities are to go side by side. A civilization which is devoid of any of the two is an incomplete civilization. Only thing to be kept in view is that scientists must strive for the uplift of humanity, while politicians must take into note that paraphernalia of science must not be channelized for destructive ends but for constructive purposes. There and there alone lies the success of modern civilization.

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28. HUMAN RIGHTS

Ever since the dawn of human civilization, this animal called man has been fighting constantly to achieve in the horizon of human affairs a befitting place. From a peep into the political history of the past primitive ages down to the modern times it is evident that this social animal has undergone all the savage behaviour and other hard experiences at the hands of his masters who have been ruling over him as a slave. At last that suppressed and oppressed soul found its right eloquence in the famous document called 'Declaration of Independence', which states like this : "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuits of happiness."

The similar echo found its high-sounding note in the French Revolution in 1788, when the sun of human rights

proclaiming Liberty, Equality and Fraternity rose on the realm of French Politics. And this exalting note found its best expression in the poetical lines of Wordsworth, when he opined, 'Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive, but to be young was very heaven' And ever since then this light of human rights began to fall on various other countries and India who on the achievement of Independence on August 15, 1947, propounded and pro- [illegible] njoying all [illegible] that can [illegible] hts are the direct outcome of the tyrannical political systems of the past regimes Almost all the political systems of the past were in some form or other a dictatorship, monarchy, autocracy and the worst regimes at some places under the usurious kings and profligate princes and extravagant rulers who used to govern their subjects most ruthlessly and mercilessly. It was this utter despair and despondency which compelled Jean Jacques Rousseau to say : "Men are born free but are always found in chains."

At present times quite a major portion of this globe is enjoying the charter of human rights Those governments who consider it as a sort of special concessions and privileges bestowed upon their people do scant justice to this humanity and to themselves. Because it is a gift of nature and God just alike air. If air and water are not denied to anyone then why one shoul l suppress the right to speech, expression etc.

[illegible]

proclaimed by the fact of their existence." He further says, " For we cannot suppose that some men have a right to be in this world, and others no right."

Still there are some countries, where people are governed by the whims and caprices of their rulers and monarchs, tyrants and dictators. In such states, people cannot speak their mind or express their opinion. They

are constantly ground in the mill of the totalitarian politics. Their voices are suppressed Their rights are encroached Nay, there is outrage on all the human liberties. It is a serious infringement of their code of ethics. Such governments cannot sustain for long. And William Lloyd Garrison rightly remarks: "Wherever there is a human being I see God given rights inherent in that being whatever may be the sex or complexion."

Now the world of women has also emancipated from the old coil of conventionalism and traditionalism when woman used to be considered as a creature to be kept in the four walls of the house or she was simply a cat in the kitchen. All honour to Mary Wollstonecraft who persistently fought to uplift and elevate woman to the present order when we see before a bevy of world women as head of the governments, ministries, governors and spread almost in every walk of life. So in the world of today there is no distinction between creed or sex. Every person can reach to the top position with his skill and calibre. Let there be one principle enunciated by Jefferson, 'Equal rights for all, special privileges for none.'

The Indian Constitution also enshrines in its preamble all the fundamental rights written in seven broad categories. These are :

1. Right to equality including equality before law, prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race caste, sex or place of birth and equality of opportunity in matters of employment

2. The right to freedom of speech, expression, assembly, association or union, movement, residence, acquisition and disposal of property, profession or occupation subject to the security of state, friendly relations with foreign countries, public order, decency or morality.

3. The right against exploitation, prohibiting all forms of forced labour, child labour or traffic in beings.

4. The right enjoins freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion.

5. This gives right to minorities to conserve their culture language and script and to receive education, establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

6. It states that everyone has the right to property while the last empowers individuals to fight for constitutional remedies for the enforcement of fundamental rights.

This vast panorama of rights enshrined in our constitution is the best expression of the hopes of Indians and they are enjoying everything for the last about eighteen years This democratic and secular constitution is the very summum bonum of Indian masses and thus India has become the largest democratic country in the world. Our constitution is the very expression of human soul.

So as the world is progressing to its promised zeal of freedom and liberty, equality and fraternity let there be no such act which may tarnish the charter of human rights or dim the torch of freedom. Let there be the prevalence and protection of human rights, though heavens fall.

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29. REWRITING HISTORY

Nowadays, there is a persistent demand made by the historical researchers and archaeologists, historians and historiographers alike, for the rewriting of Indian history. An assiduous study of the pages of past history of India make us controversial, as we find and read that the history of India, which is being taught in the schools, colleges, and universities and alumnis of education today cannot by any stretch of imagination be called a correct and true history of India. It is a history, wrongly written, twisted and facts distorted in order to suit the ideolo- [illegible] The theories put for- [illegible] about the [illegible] earance of

Vedic culture smack of prejudice and bias. The Ministry of Education has also decided to take up this noble and national task of rewriting history and this point was also emphasized by the First Asian Congress about five years ago.

Rewriting history implies primarily two tasks—a thorough and diligent reappraisal of Indian history as well as filling up of the gaps in our knowledge of the historical events The second task in certainly significant and important in the sense that it will provide us a good and great matter which will be of immense interest because these missing chapters in Indian history will have something to throw light upon which Western historians intentionally avoided to mention. All the free nations of Asia in general and India in particular must ensure that their story is retold by Asian historians so that the prejudices of Westerners are not included by genenerations of new students.

The profound researches by a phalanx of research scholars and historians are slowly but certainly narrowing down the gaps in our knowledge of Indian history. But the process of reappraisal is a little difficult, because it brings in its wake the subjective element. If the entire panorama of the historical events is viewed through the mental make-up of the historian, it takes different hues.

While the historian in general is a human being having his own impulses and intuitions, emotions and sentiments and prejudices but he must explain and elucidate facts, thereby drawing inferences from them. The trends and tendencies in the recent Indian historical research make it clear that the struggle between Hinduism, Islam and Secularism has been at its highest and each trying to dominate the other. Some of the historians of modern times have even tried to misinterpret the well established historical facts. Dr. I.M. Qureshi of Pakistan observes about the Mughal rule in India in his introduction to the book—'A History of Freedom Movement', "It was a crime to lull the Muslims into believing that the maintenance of the empire was not their primary

responsibility. Even more disastrous was the encourage- [illegible] non-Islamic ideas,' and has to say, 'Indeed this was the darkest period in the history of Indian Islam.'

But his statement leads to some controversy as there is a popular belief that Akbar's policy of accommodation [illegible] Mughal *imperium* while [illegible] enervated the Mughal [illegible]

[illegible]

But Dr. R.C. Majumdar, the chief exponent of the school of historians which exalts Hinduism, protests against the tendency of the historians to highlight only the salient features of composite culture theory and overlook the shortcomings of the Muslim period. In his foreword to the book—'The Delhi Sultanate', he remarks : "Political necessities of India during the last phase of British rule underlined the importance of alliance between the two communities, and this was sought to be smoothly brought about by glossing over the differences and creating an imaginary history of the past in order to depict the relations between the two in a much more favourable light."

With this contradistinctive commentry on the past relationship between these two communities it becomes necessary to remove the anomalies and distortions and bring on surface facts and only facts in order to respect truth and it must not be suppressed.

Dr. R.C. Majumdar further says about the duty of a historian : "It is thus quite clear that both from purely academic and practical standpoints, the plain duty of a historian of India is to reveal the truth about the communal relations in the past without being influenced in any way by any extraneous factor...... A historian should not trim his sail according to the prevailing wind, but ever go straight, keeping in view the only goal of his voyage – the discovery of truth."

Thus the historian while writing should write dispassionately, disinterestedly and detatchedly. He should give a crystal clear view regarding the historical events and not merely express his own mental predilections and proclivities. A large section of the readers of Indian history are baffled and puzzled, for in this disharmonius note and farrago of voices they cannot discern with certainty. The different interpretations on Indian history have simply ewildered and confused them. As history is not merely a chronicle of massacres and murders, atrocities and enormities of battles and uprisings but a vivid depiction of the man's progress. Indian history needs to be put in a proper setting. The clever historian writes to suit his own whims and fancies while in a second rate scholar, history degenerates into mere propaganda through which he influences and indoctrinates the minds of the people. A historian is an originator of ideas and uses history as a vehicle for disseminating and popularizing certain humanitarian and equalitarian ideologies The job of rewriting the history of India is certainly beset with many difficulties but the historian will have to elevate himself above all the taboos and tantrums of confounding schools and for undertaking this difficult but valuable adventure

What a sad commentary it is on the part of Western scholars and historians that the period, which produced socio-political thinkers like Chanakya and great kings like Asoka, is dubbed as a 'dark age'. Moreover the movements which originally speak [illegible] du[illegible] period and represent Hindu Gods and Godd[illegible] ed to look like alien monuments.

Institute for Re-writing History, has done a signal service by exploding the established myths about *some of the* historical buildings.

For example, he has proved that the tombstone which goes in the name of Qutab Minar' nothing but old 'Vishnu dhwaja'. His views on the 'Red Fort' and 'Taj Mahal' also need a penetrating study for bringing about a correct historical *perspective Indeed the very idea of* re-writing the history of India is significant and important in the sense that the rise and growth of Indian nationalism from its pristine past to the modern times demands a realistic reappraisal of all the forces which have struggled together to meet the challenge from fo eign invaders. This, indeed, will be a great national project of which the posterity will feel enlightened.

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30. DISARMAMENT AND WORLD PEACE

The problem of disarmament and world peace is one of the most burning topics of to-day. Every country of the world is engrossed in finding solution to this vexed problem. As this world has witnessed the atrocious and appalling, the devastating and destructive, the grim and ghastly spectre of war, which is haunting and hewning the scholarly and political minds of the whole world. The tragedy of youth, the waste of life, which a war brings in its train has compelled the nations peaceful and belligerent to think of the ways and means that will put an end to this vicious and venomous monster that is war. The rapine and ravage, the *plunder and pillage, the* cruelty and carnage brought about by the First World War is known to *each and every* one. This disastrous and destructive drama of human extinction was the result of the rejection of the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 which pronounced an objective to come to an agreement *on the control of armaments.*

The havoc and orgy caused by World War I once again stressed the need for some kind of agreement on

disarmament The need for the reduction and limitation of national armament by general international agreement was actually felt by the participants of the Versailles Treaty. But the principle of disarmament was only applied to defeated nations, particularly Germany.

The task for arriving at an agreement on general disarmament fell to the League of Nations after its birth in 1920. But League of Nations failed to evolve a formula for general disarmament acceptable to all nations. The Disarmament Conference of 1932 with Mr. Arthur Henderson, the British Foreign Secretary, as President, also proved abortive as the sponsors could not distinguish the offensive armament from the defensive. With the advent of Adolf Hitler to power in Germany, the politics of Germany took a serious turn. In 1933, Germany left the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations. By the beginning of 1935 disarmament had ceased to be a problem as many countries like Germany, Japan and Italy had embarked upon active rearmament programmes and had already started aggression against their neighbours and other weaker nations. Thus from 1934 onward there was again a return to power politics and a mad rush for armament, which ultimately culminated in the Second World War.

The sad experience of the breakdown of the disarmament negotiations of the inter-war years and the parallel breakdown of collective security led to a more realistic approach to disarmament problems of during and after World War II. The eighth point of the historic Atlantic Charter enjoined that all nations "for realistic as well as for spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force."

But with the invention and use of other lethal weapons of war and especially atom bomb and the subsequent barbarous act of bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki had added a new dimension to the danger of waging a major war in modern times. It had become imperative to put a halt to these deadly and inhuman atrocities of this scientific civilization and was ardently felt that war as an

instrument of solving and settling international disputes must be condemned and denounced. The old and defunct League of Nations was replaced by the United Nations Organization and its charter reflected the increased emphasis on security. The Assembly by article 11 was empowered to make and consider recommendations concerning "the general principles of international peace and security, including principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments" and the Security Council by article 26 was entrusted with the task for drawing up specific plans to implement general disarmament. The setting up by U.N. General Assembly of Atomic Energy Commission was another step forward "to bring under its control the production of atomic energy as well as to bring about the total prohibition of atomic weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction."

The role of U.S.S.R vis-a vis U.N O.'s efforts to bring about a complete control over armaments and general disarmament is disappointing in the sense that most nations put world security above sovereignty, while U S S.R. put complete sovereignty over security A sort of stalemate prevailed between 1948 and 1951. President Eisenhower on December 8, 1953, proposed an 'Atoms for Peace' plan for international development of peaceful uses of atomic energy but U.S.S.R again boycotted the

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Eisenhower suggested his proposal for 'open skies'—complete aerial reconnaissance to lessen the danger of surprise attack, but this plan was rejected and denounced by Soviets.

As a matter of fact nothing tangible has come uptil now. All these parleys and pow-vows endeavouring to save humanity from another impending catastrophe seem bleak. The Big Powers are madly running a race of armaments and stockpiling all the nuclear weapons in

their arsenals while at the same time vociferating from the housetops to put an end to this mad race. These nations have been talking of peace while they have been preparing for war and experimenting all the time. In 1954, India proposed a 'stand still' agreement on nuclear testing. Despite protests from all the parts of the world this mad race in nuclear armament gathered momentum and Britain joined the nuclear club by blasting its own nuclear bomb in 1957. Then there was the interlude of moratorium on all nuclear tests. Russia followed. While the moratorium was on, France exploded its own nuclear device in the Sahara in 1959. This compelled Russia to break the moratorium and in 1961 launched the nuclear testing programme. At this U.S. resumed underground testing in Nevada on September 15, 1961. Then, was convened the 17-nation Disarmament Conference in Geneva, which demanded ban on all the atomic tests but the U.S resumed atmospheric nuclear testing on Christmas island in the Pacific.

The most recent member to gatecrash the nuclear club is Communist China. China has tested her nuclear device thrice, which has all the more endangered the security and stability of the neighbouring nations.

With this parade of facts on the problem of disarmament, the question of the maintenance of world peace is dim and dark. The masters of such annihilating devices are busy in the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Dr. Linus Pauling, Noble Laureate, has already warned the world by saying that one 50-megaton bomb alone would cause 40,000 babies to be born with physical defects in the next few generations and so on and so forth. Innumerable diseases will creep like cancer and leukeonia.

The question of disarmament has been bogged down in power politics. Each power bloc desires not to be left behind in armament race And it is a historical fact that armament race leads to war. The war of to-day is total violation, negation of life. Both the power blocs should realise that war cannot bring any victory. It draws no difference between the victor and the vanquished. A sort

of suspicion and mistrust is engulfing both the Great Powers. The U.S. insists on effective international inspection of the disarmed countries while Russia considers it as a cover for espionage. But no solution seems to be proving fruitful. The scourge of war is the worst disease with which the humanity is afflicted Peace is regarded by some as cowardice Mentalities have become military-minded. There seems to be no way out of this sinister morass.

It is extraordinary to note the professions and actions of the world powers. What they say, they do not do. To counteract all this vicious war propaganda, the mass political awakening is a must. 'Ban the Bomb' rallies and demonstrations have been held in the big cities of the world Humanity will have to realise that the proliferation of nuclear artillery and stockpiling of modern war weapons, which is taking place in an atmosphere of cold war and war hysteria is fraught with dangerous and disastrous consequences. What humanity requires today is not war but peace The signs of despair and despondency, dejection and disillusionment left by the last two terrible World Wars should make humanity learn from the lessons of history. Twentieth century's first half has witnessed two horrible and terrible cataclysms. All this points that humanity should take such steps as will lead to world progress, prosperity, the glory and the greatness of the nations, which can only be expected during peace time So decision on disarmament will have to be made pretty soon before any mad power pulls the trigger and releases a storm and holocaust, which would be an infinite and immeasurable catastrophe for the whole mankind.

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31. BROADCASTING IN INDIA

Radio is one of the most essential means in a democracy as a potent instrument of mass communication. It carries all the news and views, ideas and information to even the remotest parts of the country that the organizers

of broadcasting felt it a necessity to undertake a vast expansion programme on the attainment of Independence. The British Government used this broadcasting system as an important weapon of propaganda during World War II. But this system was not enough for the requirements of an infant and nascent democracy of India. A country, which is steeped in ignorance and illiteracy, needs to be informed and educated through the radio.

The history of organized broadcasting in India dates back to July, 1927, when the Bombay station was inaugurated by the then Viceroy of India, Lord Irwin, and the total number of licences in vogue on December 31, 1927, was 3594. Then began the Delhi station of what was known at that time as the Indian State Broadcasting Service, on January 2 1936 Then, there was the publication of Radio journals in Urdu and Hindi from Delhi which were added to *Betar Jagat* in Bengali which [illegible] to the limelight of this world as early as 1929. On June 8, 1936, All India Radio assumed its present name.

The pre war record of the All India Radio was a limited one. But the exigencies of war changed the entire complexion of development and a number of high power transmitters were put up by 1945. Broadcasts were also beamed to a number of countries of the world.

On the achievement of Independence, the country was partitioned As a result of this, Peshawar, Lahore and Dacca stations were transferred to Pakistan and A.I.R. was left with only six broadcasting centres at Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Lucknow and Tiruchi. These centres covered about 320 million people. Just after independence, A.I.R. drew its own Five-Year Plans to help develop broadcasting in India. During the First Plan, each linguistic region was endowed with a nucleus of satisfactory and reliable broadcast coverage. The Second Plan strived to consolidate the existing broadcasting units and also to provide facilities for programme production, both in quality and quantity. Third Plan proposed the installation of 55 medium-wave and 2

short wave transmitters at various centres all over the country thereby covering a wide range of the population and area of our country.

For the dissemination of news and spread of knowledge in every nook and corner of the country, A.I.R. programmes are broadcast not only in all the regional languages but also in some 50 dialects. In 1952, a countrywide scheme of Radio Rural Forums was launched under which listening cum discussion programme was arranged for groups of farmers on various aspects of agriculture and animal husbandry. An intensive programme of mass communication was launched through Community Development Blocks. Inexpensive listening through wired rediffusion centres is also provided in Delhi. This scheme envisages the establishment of a central receiving station from where the programmes are fed to various tenements on wire at nominal payment of Rs. 2 to Rs. 2.50 per month.

An experimental television service was also provided to the viewers of Delhi in 1959 with UNESCO grant for carrying out studies in the use of television as a medium of education and rural uplift. This system is functioning in a number of schools in Delhi and lessons are being imparted to students in Physics, Chemistry, Hindi and English.

The programme pattern of A.I.R. is varied and covers many aspects of our life like news, news reels talks, discussions, interviews, dramas, features and light variety programme as is broadcast by Vivid Bharati.

Then there is the special Audience Programme coming under Central Government's Subsidy Scheme, which has supplied 90,000 community sets to State Governments for installation in rural areas. A special feature also propagates on the importance and implementation of Five-Year Plans in India. The External Services programme is meant for non-Indian listeners and it is broadcast in 12 languages.

But it is a commendable commentary on the function-ng of All India Radio. It adapted to the tune of time nd circumstances when Chinese dragon invaded India n 1962. Then came the fire and fury of Pakistan. The peace of Kashmir valley was rudely disturbed by the marauding hordes and the surging silence of undulating hills virbated to the clang and clatter of borrowed steel and the thundering noise of Sabres. People once again tuned their radio and found to their surprise that A.I.R. was really portraying the mood of a nation who stood like one man to meet the challenge. There was real urgency and appeal in broadcasts. Pakistan's Goebblesque propaganda was countered and her lies exposed. Pakistan, as a matter of fact, lost propaganda iniatiative. The fervent effusions of patriotic notes and a vision and sincerity was found in the broadcasts. All the national and international problems were put in their proper perspective and the profound speeches of all the great scholars, political leaders and press-lords like Frank Moraes, Frank Anthony, De Mellow and Atal Behari Vajpayee were broadcast to the nation. A.I.R. became a national forum for communicating national policies and programmes in that period of grave crisis 'Dhol ki Pol' was the piece-de-resistance during Indo-Pak conflict. On the whole, A.I.R. arose above all the levels of party and became an instrument for voicing national interests. The broadcasters owe a responsibility to the community and not only to their own conscience. Broadcasting organization must remain ahead of public taste and should not resort to unpopular, dull and monotonous programmes.

The role of A.I R. in the growth and development o various media of cultural expression—such as music, drama literature and others—is really tremendous. Some of th organisations like Sangeet Sammelan, National Symposiun of poets, Sahitya Samaroh, Sardar Patel Memorial Lec ures, Inter-University Radio Group Discussion Compet tions and All-India Music Competition etc., help in th proper spread and dissemination of news value. The re ponsibility of A.I.R. has increased manifold sin Independence. It is a mass media of entertainme

information and education. The role, in acquainting one part of the country with the culture of other regions and thus help uniting all the people in a common bond, has been astounding.

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32. CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

The idea of introducing co-operative farming in India was discussed first of all at the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress held in 1959. The slogan was raised and finally accepted by the All India Congress [illegible] the limb of the [illegible] in the [illegible] ia and other East European countries who professed their faith in socialism. Co-operative farming implies pooling of land for joint cultivation by peasants, the farmers continuing to retain their property right and getting a share from the net produce in proportion to their land. It also contemplates 'operation agriculture' on a large scale, that is to say, in large compact areas with the aid of modern mechanisation.

The role of co operative farming was emphasized in the First as well as Second Five-Year Plans for the recon- [illegible] The goal indicated in [illegible] essential steps [illegible] foundations for the development of co-operative farming so that over a period of 10 years or so, a good proportion of agricultural lands was cultivated on co-operative lines. This novel experiment was seriously carried out in our country in the early period of its implementation.

A comprehensive programme of development of co-operative farming during the Third Five-Year Plan was formulated on the basis of the recommendations of working group on co-operative farming and decisions taken there by National Development Council It envisages orga-

nisation of 320 planned pilot projects at the rate of one in each district in selected Community Development Blocks, where Panchayati Raj institutions and co-operatives have made progress. Each pilot project consists of a mininum of 10 Co operative Farming Societies, demonstrating the advantage of co-operative farming and serving also as catalytic agents for further expansion. This new and novel technique has been practised in various states and the progress made in the field of agriculture is still a controversial topic.

The gradual implementation of this co-operative scheme led to the expansion of the whole paraphernalia related to co-operative farming. A number of pilot projects and more than one thousand co-operative farming societies were *organised*. *There was also the setting up of a* Committee of Directors to assess the performance of pilot projects. The number of co-operative farming societies registered in the First and Second Plan periods was 150 and these societies were classified as joint and collective farming societies.

The National Co-operative Farming Advisory Board has been set up for planning and promoting the programme of co-operative farming. Advisory Boards or Special Committees of the State Co-operative Councils have also been brought into being for the purpose. There is also a number of co operative farming wings set up in selected extension training centres where secretaries are trained to look after the work of this great movement. But still this movement has not made much headway up till now. The idea of co-operation farming, no doubt, is attractive and appealing but its practicability has really disappointed the people The results of co operative farming are far below the expectations of the people.

In the Third Five-Year Plan, much emphasis was laid on this scheme. It envisaged a programme under which co-operative farming societies were given preference in the grant of lands reclaimed by Government and cultivable waste lands under Government management or village panchayats.

But despite all this fanfare which was given to this movement of co operative farming, it has not got roots in our country. The reasons are obvious This makes the farmer lazy and inefficient and does not put in co-operatives that much labour which he puts in his own personal tillage [illegible]
of their origin [illegible]
Agricultural Org [illegible]
have got the lowest yield in world agriculture. This shows the hollowness of this idea Even in Hungary, when co-operative farming was introduced a cartoon of telling effect appeared in one of the newspapers of Hungary depicting a couple rising late in the morning, when this movement was initiated The cartoon sensed that the cock used to crow early in the morning before co-operative farming was introduced in Hungary but after the implementation of co operative farming, cock used to crow late in the morning and so the couple used to sleep for some hours more than what they previously used to sleep. This was a direct pointer that farmers of Hungary did not whole-heartedly welcome this new trend in their agriculture.

In the light of above facts the so called success of co-operative farming, many economists and expert agriculturists have come to the conclusion that the example of Japan is an answer to the protagonists of co operative farming. We should muster our energies for the supply of improved seeds and manure, marketing facilities and aid in the shape of credit Individual farming in small plots can be even more productive than co-operative farming. The aid can be well rendered through service co-operatives. W. should stop the doctrinaire approach to country's problems. The allure of dogma and slogan-mongering are not going to benefit us. Rather we should modify the scheme of co operative farming in accordance with the above facts. Then and then, will there be an agricultural revolution in our country.

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33. THIS NUCLEAR AGE

If anyone is asked to bestow a most befitting phrase by which this twentieth century can be classified and epitomised he then would hardly hesitate to call it the 'nuclear age'. Atomic energy is perhaps the most astonishing and amazing, significant and spectacular off-shoot of this scientific civilization and this nuclear power promises to satisfy the tremendous needs of this energy-hunger civilization. This egrigious achievement of modern science opened a new chapter in the history of scientifically and technologically advancing nations. This nuclear power is looked upon by humanity with two looks. Firstly, it is said that atomic energy is mainly meant to be used for destructive purposes. But the optimist and the visionary sees in this enormous energy, a ray, a hope, which will set humanity on its path of material splendour and economic glory, because atomic energy is many many times more powerful than steam and electricity. The scientist sees in this energy a vast capability to produce efficiently and easily the products of human usage from factories and mills. Nay, it promises to make this world an El Dorado of comfort. Really, humanity has progressed from the medieval stone age, to bronze age and ultimately to this nuclear age.

This world saw the sunrise of this atomic civilization about twenty years back. But the very first usage by America of an Atom Bomb over its innocent and ignorant victims of Heroshima and Nagasaki in Japan in 1945, horrified and terrified the whole humanity. All such countries, who were not in the possession of this weapon, gave second thoughts to this problem and decided to stock-pile their arsenals of weapons with this latest and lurid weapon, *i.e.* Atom Bomb. This really makes a beginning of this atomic age or atomic civilization. Since then, many a mind, whether in the realm of religion or philosophy or in that of art and literature or in that of social and political institutions, has been puzzling and baffling himself so as to find ways and means for having an escape from this monster—that is the Atom Bomb.

In this atomic age of ours, its very possession of an Atomic Bomb has become a symbol of country's advancement. It raises the stature of the country in the eyes of the world. And, as a matter of fact, every country, who is in the possession of this weapon comes in the category of 'Big Powers'. What a paradox of modern civilization it is ! This sort of thinking has really led the world to a race in atomic armaments U.S.A., U.S.S.R., U.K., France and Red China are in its possession of this latest scientific contrivance Even more, some countries have gone further and have placed before the world weapons, [illegible] an Atom Bomb. Hy- [illegible] balt Bomb and Inter- [illegible] the modern monstrous instruments which, if misused, will certainly spell the ruinous state of mankind. These typical weapons characterize and symbolize this atomic age

Rather, there has been a mad race in nuclear weapons between the two power blocs one led by Russia and the other dominated by U. S A. Both the power blocs have been experimenting and testing the efficacy of their war weapons. America after brutally bombing the Japanese towns, tested her atomic bomb by exploding it at Bikini Atoll in the Pacific. So were the Russians to carry out their testing programme of atomic weapons on the frigid zones of Arctic and the frozen regions of Siberia. It is a curious fact of this scientific and materialistic world to talk of peace and hold parleys on disarmament and offer to agree on test ban treaties, but at the same time flouting and infracting all these international commitments and obligations. France is one of such countries to violate and throw to winds the very letter and spirit of such disarmament conferences. China is the latest to join and gatecrash into nuclear club by having detonated three nuclear devices.

If we understand the underlying meaning of all these [illegible] ents and [illegible] powers, [illegible] entalities

are out to terrorize and mesmerize this world and attract the nations into their respective political patterns. The 50 megaton test by U.S.S R. was a move to colour the whole world into communism, by this ghastly explosion. So is the case with Communist China. She is also trying to attract the attention of Asian countries to her side by displaying her strength and so who in turn is also the believer in expanding the frontiers of her country.

This nuclear age has given rise to various question-marks. Will the nation survive if this type of cold war and wishful thinking continues ? Is th s nuclear civilization heading towards progress or dragging mankind to a new kind of barbarism ? Will this atomic energy sound the toxin of domination and destruction. doom and death on mankind, or is it wholly engaged in redeeming humanity from all the evils and ills like poverty and pestilences, plague and epidemics, ignorance and illiteracy ?

Questions like these certainly arise clouds of doubt and blizzards of confusion in my mind about the so-called elevation and advancement of this nuclear society. Science in general and atomic power in particular has no doubt provided immense resources to the modern man, but the man of today has not properly learnt how to put them to advantage. Atomic energy has released a vast amount of power for man but his moral sense has remained as dwarfi.h as ever.

Who can forget the orgy of bloodbath and bloodsheds, the rapines and ravages, the cruelties and carnages, the enormities and atrocities of the two World Wars. The inter-war period is characterized as an age of despair and disillusionment, of despondency and dejection, nay, it was an interlude of time, in which there was a sterile civilization, everything in a state of pell-mell and confusion. The economic stagnation, the spiritual depression, and the chaotic idealism are the very hall-marks of this age and all such themes found their expression and eloquence in the coterie of English poets

and dramatists. The war-poets sang the melancholy state left by war. T.S. Eliot's 'The Waste Land' is a capital document on modernism, explaining the post World War I period. The Hiroshima episode and the pathetic and ghostly picture it left, is unforgettable.

With these shocking conclusions before humanity, it is still ununderstandable as to why these Titanic powers are crusading to supesede the other. U K. wants to increase her sphere of influence by enunciating 'East of Suez' policy which has been renamed as 'Indo Pacific Defence Strategy' with the sole purpose of keeping her military installations in this part of the world.

What a sad and sardonic fact it is that mankind is still not learning from the grim past and all these power-mad and power-drunk countries are not putting a halt to their this ruinous mentality. Let it be remembered that in nuclear age, nuclear energy is to blame the least. Who really criminal is or will be, the politician, the mad mind of men, who orders or will order to release these monstrous missiles and dreadful atomic weapons in order to conquer the other, while their abysmal ignorance is unaware of the fact, that this nuclear war will put an end to both. i e victims and victimizers. While at the same time, this nuclear energy used for the peaceful purposes of humanity will open before us a pandora's box to be relished and cherished by all the fruits of this nuclear age otherwise this nuclear energy will remain, in the words of Gandhiji, 'amost diabolical use of science.'

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34. TECHNICAL EDUCATION

The dilemma of twentieth century is that in spite of having a large number of schools, colleges and universities in our country the real purpose of education has not kept pace with the technological changes of our time. The reasons for this malaise are not far to seek. We have in our country a system of education based upon the obsolete and effete ideas of Macaulay who opined that

Indians should be so educated as to enable them to become merely clerks, though white-collared, in Government offices, but in thought, outlook and in mind they should be English. It is frightening to note that our universities are still functioning on old and out-dated lines and thus producing clerks in large numbers, despite the fact that we are now politically awakened and free. But there is still more malaise in our educational system, which is deeper and quite widespread. Indian student generally feels ashamed in resorting to any kind of manual or technical work. He is moulded in a way which is detrimental to himself, his country, in the sense that Indian industry is in a state of starvation and our markets galore with imported goods.

This medley in education needs reform and remedy and that can be done by resorting vigorously to technical education from the liberal one. Technical education implies teaching and training in practical affairs like art and craft, comprising carpentary, smithy, machanics, engraving, weaving and other workshop activities which mould the mind of man to laborious and normal work. A systematic instruction in fields and factories, schools and colleges and other industrial training institutes is a must if the educationists and technocrats of our country want to give this trend a practical shape and form.

The need to foster technical education in a country like ours which is still on the threshold of progress, a country which is arising from the smoking heaps and stagnant ruins of the British imperialism who impiously played with the wealth and health of the country in order to suit their own ulterior designs and motives, must be given paramount importance so as to put the country on the pace of progress, rapid development and fast industrialisation. Without technicians and technologists, in in the modern age, our country will be just like bodies without limbs. Rather industrialisation and advanced technology will rid this country of all the evils and obstinate ills like unemployment and import of foreign know-how.

It is satisfactory to note that today our country has a large number of engineering colleges and industrial institutes but *even then the needs of our industry are not met* with. For this more importance should be given to the opening of more engineering and technological institutes in our five year plans. There are, no doubt, certain difficulties in the path of technical education. For example, *among we people, there is little propensity towards* manual work and hard labour. Manual labour is looked down upon as derogatory and infradig by some higher classes and fashionable elite of our country This antipathy must be eliminated. We must respect the motto of '*dignity of labour*' and *shun all the false notions* about dignity and respect.

We cannot help better than quote Gandhiji on the above subject :

"I hold that true education of intellect can only come through a proper exercise and training of the bodily organs, *e g.*, hands, feet, eyes, ears, nose etc."

"I hold the highest development of the mind and the soul is possible under such a system of education. Only every handicraft has to be taught not merely mechanically as is done today but scientifically, *i e.*, the child should know the why and wherefor of every process."

Gandhiji further remarked : "It is my conviction that the vast amount of the so-called education in arts, given in our colleges, is sheer waste and has resulted in unemployment among the educated classes. What is more, it has destroyed the health, both mental and physical, of the boys and girls who have the misfortune to go in our colleges."

With such soul-stirring views of a veteran of India, it is an ardent necessity that if our country really likes to touch the acme of *industrialism* and *technology, she must* endeavour for the spread of technical education.

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With such soul-stirring views of a veteran of India, it is an ardent necessity that if our country really likes to touch the acme of industrialism and technology, she must endeavour for the spread of technical education.

Though some people have some queer notions regarding this type of education—that it makes people materialistic and utilitarian and care least for the real values of life such as art and literature, love and philosophy. We do not want such type of education as is one-sided. Both technical and liberal education will have to go side by side. We want that type of education which promises people 'two square meals'. Fine arts cannot be appreciated in a starving society while technical education does not mean elimination of liberal education.

The other obstacle which comes in the way of technical education is the crippling lack of financial resources. Technical institutes and colleges require huge funds for their construction and maintenance But this can be helped by private enterprise. Moreover our industry should run on a small scale and then should be expanded. The example of Germany and Japan, these two countries which had been the victims of two World Wars, is worth emulation. Technical education must be given special impetus.

The just concluded symposium on the collaboration between Afro-Asian countries for the utilization of science and technology (CAAUST) has exhorted the need of inculcating a scientific and technological interest among the people and felt that without science and technology, the gap between the richer and poorer nations cannot be abridged. Thus from every aspect, technical education is the indispensable element in the modern times.

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85. THE REFORM OF EDUCATION IN INDIA

The education, which is being imparted in the schools, colleges and universities as well as in other temples of learning today, cannot by any stretch of imagination be called as correct and rational education because the prevailing system of education in India is based more or less on Macaulay's system, which intended to produce in

India armies of clerks to run the British administration. The very paraphernalia of present education system smacks of the Western system and the curricula is also almost of western type. The universities confer degrees after subjecting the aspirants to examinations, the colleges coach their students for these, and the schools are pre-occupied with preparing for the final examination which will entitle them to admission to the colleges. Moreover a university degree is a certificate of fitness for public service or other gainful employment. The loaded courses and heavy syllabuses enable professors and teachers to cover only their prescribed texts. The end-results of the system may be literacy but it is certainly not education.

One of the major defects of our present educational system is that the vehicle of entire system of education is a foreign language, to grasp which perfectly is beyond the reach of an average student. Moreover the large-scale failures in Higher Secondary and Degree examinations is because of English language. Dr Ramdhari Sinha 'Dinker', Vice-Chancellor of Bhagalpur University, lashed upon the protagonists of English and averred that the community of students is being crucified at the cross of English. A student who secures first class marks in physics, chemistry or other sciences but fails in English is declared as a failed candidate. So it should be stopped and the national language should be made the vehicle of education.

Gandhiji's words on this subject are also worth quoting, "The medium of a foreign language through which higher education has been imparted in India has caused incalculable intellectual and moral injury to the nation. We are too near our own times to judge the enormity of the damage done. And we who have received such education have both to be victims and judges – an almost impossible feat."

Also there is need to rid education of its strong economic bias. The Government can initiate the process of liberation by ceasing to recruit its personnel on the

basis of academic qualifications alone. The need to dissociate the public mind of the idea of education from the idea of its economic advantages, is also important.

The other need is to distinguish between literacy and education. Mass literacy in totalitarian countries has been exploited cynically for mass political propaganda. Only genuine and right type of education can do for democracy. That education which imparts the knowledge of various subjects dispassionately and disinterestedly and without involving any vested interests best suits the nation. Side by side, the physical education must also be imparted. The mental make-up gets enlightened by the physical exercise In other words, an intelligent use of the bodily organs in a child provides the best and quickest way of developing his intellect. But unless the development of the mind and body goes hand in hand with a corresponding awakening of the soul, the former alone would prove to be a poor lop-sided affair. Thus with bookish knowledge, there must be the development of bodily organs as there is a sound mind in a sound body.

The universities should be seats of learning and not examining authorities. In so far as learning is an extension of education on the intellectual plane proper education of a university is to provide abundant facilities to aspirants for the pursuit of knowledge in literature and science, mathematics and philosophy, and for research in every branch of human knowledge.

Today we also hear a great deal about indiscipline in colleges and universities. India being a secular state, there is no scope for religious education. Ethics and religion always go together. Their absence in the present-day education system is mainly responsible for the revolt of the youth. The need for moral and spiritual teaching is being keenly felt in all quarters. It is an urgent task before the educationists of our country to-day to give to their youth the correct values of life. Even Gandhiji used to emphasize for the spiritual training.

The storms which have just faded in the campus of Banaras Hindu University, Lucknow 'Varsity and Aligarh Muslim University were of great and grave magnitude. The indiscipline and indecency displayed by students in resorting to rowdyism and hooliganism will be worstly recorded. After all what is the cause of all this trouble ? Where is the wrong in our system of education ? If we really want to avoid these discordant and jarring scenes, then we shall have to undertake the job of eliminating the defects in our educational system.

Our Vice-President, Dr. Zakir Hussain, described at Srinagar, on Oct. .0, 1962, the present educational system as "a vast and complicated system." The Vice-President, himself a prominent educationist, further said, "We set out to educate and usually end by doing something different We gave up what we had before because we could not get employment if we learnt Sanskrit or Arabic or Persian and Urdu and the more we took to what had been called *English education the stronger* were the links we forged between education and employment. 'Education', to Dr. Hussain, 'is a cultivation of mind, an awareness of and a capacity to comprehend many values, to be creative, ennobling force.'

Thus [illegible]

education needs to be reoriented and reorganised to suit the national needs, with greater stress on vocational, professional and technical education. That alone would serve the country better than the system we have inherited from our former rulers. The whole system of education should be designed to equip every boy and girl within the limits of their physical and mental capacities, to earn their living and to serve their community according to their several qualifications, with the minimum of misfits and waste of talent. Education must strive to prepare our younger generations for active and co-operative democratic citizenship in an era dominated by the development of new scientific techniques. All these reforms and revisions

are necessary if we want to modernise our education to the latest needs of the time.

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36. EDUCATION FOR LIFE

In this epoch of advancement, literacy, learning and education, it is a subject of profound interest to pen few lines on the type of education to be imparted to human beings so that it may serve the best interests of their life and living. One of the aims and objects of education should be to provide young people with the correct values of life.

Education in general must strive to raise the standard of intelligence and understanding Good education aims at the training of the mind. Mind should be so educated that it must be able to differentiate as to what is right and what is wrong. It is one of the most important factors in the making of a society and its ultimate departure to a civilized stage. An American professer of education is said to have remarked during his tour of India, "You tell me the sort of civilization you desire to build, and I shall tell you what sort of education you should give."

The learned and erudite educationist's remark is apt and expounds the very essence of education. World civilizations are the products of the respective educational systems. A civilization reflects the type of education while good education is judged from the civilization, which it builds. We have before us a plethora of civilizations like Greek civilization, Roman civilization European civilization, Oriental civilization and the civilization of barbarians and bourbons, of pagans and heathens.

So education is the very bed-rock of a cultured society. We call a society cultured and civilised in the sense that their behaviour and understanding and way of life is not detrimental and derogatory to other nations. Education

must endeavour to imbibe in the life of man all the essential norms of our organised society, all the important decencies and decorums of an organised and systematized way of life.

The ship of life, as a matter of fact, is steered and guided to proper destinations only through the right type of education. One of the most important factors of education is to inculcate patriotic fervour and nationalist spirit and sense in the life of man. Masses must be trained properly through the temples of education. National character is the be-all and end all of education. It must enlighten the armies of ignorant masses to keep themselves aloof from those who preach subversion and violence and other anti-national and unpatriotic activities.

Education should be modernized so as to suit the latest life of man and his milieu. As are the social surroundings and environments, so should be the education. [illegible] India [illegible] and not hanker after the latest techniques and scientific contrivances. Conventionalism, dogmatism and the like 'isms' should be shunned and syllabuses should be worked out so as to include the latest subjects and topics, which are in the flow of time.

A society which, in the name of traditionalism, wants to devote itself to old crotchets and conundrums cannot flourish and progress. An education which does not modernize itself cannot hope for the survival of our teeming millions, unless we industrialise and produce more by way of food, clothing and shelter. Man, no doubt does not live by bread alone, but he must have his belly full, before he can indulge in the more exalted pursuits of art, literature and philosophy.

There are others who hold the opinion that an education which invites materialism should be eschewed. They say, materialism is no cure for the ills of society. But let it not be forgotten, that even in this so-called materialistic age, the effluent society of West has produced gems like Einstein, Bertrand Russell, Schewitzer, G. B. Shaw, T. S.

t and many other noted philosophers and scholars. stern educationists are certainly aware of the dangers modern materialism as we are. They know well that a iety which ignores spiritual values implies a throwback barbarism and is a menace to itself as well as to others. ne need for the preservation and strengthening of such rrect values, spiritual and moral, social and religious, as guiding principle for life, is a world need and not merely n Indian need.

Life is really dull and dreary, vapid and insipid, if it s not lighted by the flame of education. Education fosters love of motherland, love of liberty, universalism, fellow feelings and other noble qualities of head and heart. A didactive remark attributed to Lord Brougham is worth recalling, "Education makes a people easy to lead but difficult to drive, easy to govern but impossible to enslave"

Education plays a prominent part in a democratic set-up. Education forms the backbone for the successful running of democracy. An educated vote proves a boon for the country, while an uneducated vote may prove a bane for the country. Thus it is vital for human beings that they have freedom to speak, express or right to exercise their conscience.

The educational system should be designed to foster in every boy and girl habits of self-reliance and initiative, and thus develop the critical faculties, and not to undermine the basis for common sentiment and belief. Mere intellectualism is apt to foster a critical spirit which, accepting no standards leads, to pessimism, egoism and practical inefficiency. When such intellectualism infects the teachers, it is passed on to the pupils in a diluted form with dangerous and disastrous consequences. Education should be imparted in a way as to assimilate social habits of speech, dress and common behaviour to the highest standards without destroying or jeopardising local or national variations. Education should endeavour to harmonize life of society and to enable society to contribute actively to its development, social and economical

Education is so vital for human life and living that without it this world would be a dull and dreary place, devoid of any intellect or understanding, creativeness and leisure. Education is instructive, and therefore is the *summum bonum* of life.

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37. SCIENCE AND WAR

In this epoch wrought with bewildering and baffling flux of scientific inventions and discoveries, which threathen the very existence of human civilization, it is a subject of increasing interest to expound few lines on the impact and influence which science has made on the tent of war. With modern science kissing the apex and acme of advancement almost in every field, the frightening off-shoots of some of the scientific developments have certainly increased and enhanced the destructive capacity, nay, these dreadful scientific developments have brought the humanity just on the brink of ruin and annihilation.

Twentieth century, as a matter of fact, is an age of science. In this scientific era, the world has seen to its surprise the sinister outcome of the weapons of war, which are so horrifying and terrifying that the whole humanity is thinking and pausing as to what will happen if some mad mentalities just ordered to pull the triggers of their armouries and arsenals and thus start a holocaust of unimaginable magnitude, which will be beyond the control of even its masters, because science has become a Frankenstein's monster.

While science on the one hand is the harbinger of health

on the other side science has also provided to this human race, very many weapons of war which are so destructive and dreadful that their use, at any moment can spell the death of the whole world. The grim and ghastly spectacle of the two last World Wars is known to one and all. But

what was that that gave acceleration and impetus to such mentalities who have produced the dreadful weapons of war? Wars, no doubt, have been fought in history and times to settle international and inter-tribal disputes. But the news of times ancient were not so terrible and horrible, as they are to-day. The use of Atom Bomb on the two cursed cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, was the Everest of this scientific civilization. The tremendous havoc brought about by this barbarous bombing sent a current of thought in other nations of the world. They also started thinking in terms of producing their own arsenals and so be self-reliant and self dependent. The mad race in armaments began. All the countries which were well advanced in science and technology proliferated the latest contrivances which can inflict upon humanity untold suffering and devastation.

Moreover the cold war atmosphere and mounting tensious between the Big Powers have all the more increased the prospects of war. But this balance of power is also acting as a deterrent to war, to some extent. But what is haunting the minds of modern scientists and politicians, philosophers and humanists alike is that this mentality, *i.e.* war-mindedness, is a great threat to world civilization. The aphoristic remark of Bonar Law is worthy to quote. when he said in a speech before World War I, "There is no such thing as an inevitable war. If war comes it will be from the failure of human wisdom."

To day science and war go check by jowl. Science has contributed immensely to the sinews of war. So modern warfare has been a complex affair. "Modern warfare," says Frank Knox, "is an intricate business about which no one knows everything and few know very much." But being a realist and not a metaphysicist, I say the very essence of war is violenc. War is a saga of and study in suffering. The innumerable casualti-s and the waste of life which war brings is shocking and stunning. The finest flowers of human civilization, the healthiest and strong team of a country, *i.e.*, its youth, are sent to the battle-fields where bullets are booming and thus they go

into the awful and draconian mouth of war. The economy of a country is sadly shattered in war. There is dearth of everything life, things and other commodities essential for human life 'War', says Mao Tse-tung, 'is not an invitation to bouquets." It is a call to muster towards battlefields. On the whole, "war is a science of destruction," as is asserted by John S. C. Abbott. We cannot help better delineate the essence of war than to quote Martin Luther: "War is the greatest plague that can afflict humanity; it destroys religion, it destroys states, it destroys families. Any scourge is preferable to it."

Scientific warfare, therefore, is umpteenth times more devastating and disastrous than all wars fought in the past. To-day we hear about the bacteriological warfare. Who can forget the inhuman use of medical knowledge in the Hitlerite Germany and the ambitious plans of personage and napalm bomb? Vietnam is experiencing the very exact phenomenon, i e, of the use of napalm gas and poison gas What a sad and sordid state of affairs it it. This spectre of war and the after effects of war have been well enshrined in the thought-provoking and soul-stirring novel 'All Quiet on the Western Front' by Erich Maria Remarque Acclaimed the world over as [illegible] with a vivid haunt- [illegible] man soldiers fighting [illegible] World War I. The rueful ruins and shambles, which World War I left of Paris were pathetic. The entire Europe is still recouping the loss to which it was put because of the two wars. The tyranny of war, its cruelty and savagery, the frustration and melancholy, the despair and despondency of First World War, was seen flowing and reflected into the writings of war poets. T.S. Eliot's 'Wasteland' is a rich and vivid elucidation of post-World War I civilization. The economic stagnation the cultural overthrow, the sterile civilization, the muddled idealism, the bad politics and ugly thoughts, this seething and steaming jungle of confounding ideologies—was all which stood as a memento of World War I.

The outcome of Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles, the pilotless rockets, sub-marines, U-boats, Torpedoes etc. are the glaring instruments of modern warfare. The sabre-rattling of Pakistan over Indian territory during the Indo-Pak confrontation in September, 1965, has been seen by one and all. That simple and short period of war has left both the countries wrecked, economically and militarily. The loss of lives, property, cities and stations, development projects and military installations, suffered by both the countries is appalling. 'War never leaves, where it found a nation,' remarked Burke correctly.

If the world wants to remain away and aloof from the horrors and terrors of war, it is essential to bring about a compromise between science and war. Politicians are responsible to a large extent to avert war by fizzling out wordy war. Humanity will have to learn from the lessons of history otherwise we shall have to repent like most other truisms, the adage, "History repeats itself," because men repeat their past mistakes A clarion call is needed to be given to the world to end the mutual rivalries, feuds and vendettas and thus to start living in amity, friendship and harmony so that the cruel hands, out of mutual hatred and hostility may not pull the triggers and thus engulf the whole world with immeasurable deluge, which will be as much a punishment to punisher as to the sufferer.

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38. THE COLD WAR

There is going on a sort of verbal duel, mutual-bickerings and sinister wranglings between the two power systems. This ideological warfare on the economic front and social front which is carried out and propagated againts each other through radio, press, television and other means of propaganda, but without resorting to or indulging in an actual shooting war, is known as cold war. Cold war, broadly speaking, is a state of tension between countries in which each side adopts policies designed to strengthen itself and weaken the other, but falling short of 'hot'

war. This term now-a-days is usually used to describe the relationship which has existed between the Western powers and the U.S.S.R. since 1947.

This cold war atmosphere, which is prevailing during the last twenty years between the two titanic powers, one represented by Russia and the other by Anglo-American [illegible]

world powers, has stifled and poisoned the panorama of world politics. This intriguing and inimical dance of world politics has baffled and confused various newly emerging nations of Asia and Africa, from the coils of colonialism and worst form of imperialism. These newly freed countries do not want to jump in this stifling and confounding arena of cold war politics, because this cold war sometimes proves more dangerous than actual shooting war.

To authenticate it further let me quote the words of Pandit Nehru, who once remarked wryly: "I would prefer Hydrogen Bomb to cold war. But he goes further and makes a virulent and violent attack upon the cold war tactics, when he says: "Cold war could have some sense if there is some preparation for hot war but when hot war is altogether ruled out, cold war becomes sheerest nonsense."

But with this seething denouncement of cold war mentalities, the doctrinaire and dry as dust doctors of communism and capitalism are thinking least to put an end to this mad mentality. Cold war has vehemently vitiated the atmosphere of world politics. The statements of threat and blackmail, of exploitation and bullyism, uttered by the cohort of leaders of both the power blocs are keeping this world in a state of ever-increasing tension, and mounted angers and morbid moods, which if remained uncontrolled might bring the clouds of disaster upon entire mankind.

As a matter of fact, these two super-powers are out to install their respective hegemony over the world. The predatory and monolithic ideology of communism, as it is basically aggressive, is out to colour the whole world in its ideological hue, while the diametrically opposite thought stream of capitalism wants to have its hay and sway over the firmament of world politics. This mutual race of these two opposite political forces has become the subject of grave concern and discussion for every nation. The emergence of Communist China as one of the biggest powers in South-East Asia and her already committed designs of aggression and ntrusion in India Korea and Vietnam and her sweet dreams to encircle the whole of Asian continent presents a potent threat to the security and stability of the free world. Up till now, the cold war tactics are being presented to contain Chinese expansionism because this red regime of China has further heightened the mood of cold war ; and if this state of ideological tension gains momentum and stays for a long time, then there is every possibility of its being erupted and escalated in an actual booming storm with the latest lethal weapons of war in use which will sound the death-knell of human civilization This sinister and insidious greed of expansionism and extra-territorialism of Red China might compel the free powers to press their triggers and start a holocaust which will not only engulf China into its fierce flames but will also prove disastrous and dangerous to the punishers as well.

At the same time there are other hot and troubled spots which have badly become the cockpits of cold war like Vietnam muddle, Kashmir imbroglio etc., where any wrong step by any of the powers might lead to world-wide conflagration. The formation of military pacts like C.E N.T.O., S.E.A.T.O., M.E.D O., and other latest developments like Multilateral Nuclear Force (M.L.F.) and the Pacific defence strategy or the previously one called 'East of Suez' policy of U.K., to keep her bastions of military installations in the East have not been proved a deterrent to war but these formations of military pacts have further aggravated and straitened the campaign of

...ck of injustice and partiality. During a debate on Kashmir, in the early fifties, U.S.A. and her satellites sided with Pakistan—a country who was criminal of committing one of the most heinous crimes in human history by attacking Kashmir in 1947, in order to grab it by force. This sterile spectacle of U.S.A. came as a rude shock to the upholders of law and order. This showed how cold war had blunted and is blunting the edge of reason and sanity, which counts so much in world politics. Thus the germs of cold war have been carried into the inner precincts of U.N.O. It has become a biggest springfield of cold war and if it continues to behave in the same old manner, then there is every possibility of U.N.O. going the way of the League of Nations.

In this see-saw of world politics, so long as the zealous evangels of communism persist, insist and consist in demolishing and dismantling the citadel of capitalism and *vice-versa*, the blizzard of cold war will continue to confound the international political leadership. The best course to get out of this quagmire of cold war politics is that each country of the world should not interfere into the internal affairs of the other country and should also follow strictly the principles of non-aggression and peaceful co-existence and respect for each other's territorial integrity. But for which, there will be chaos and confusion which ultimately will culminate into the worst ever calamities and disasters. To put an end to this war of politics, *i.e.*, cold war, is a must for humanity if it wants to survive rightly and respectfully.

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39. AN INDIAN VILLAGE

India is predominantly a land of villages. Villages epitomise India. The real picture of India is enshrined in her villages. Villages reflect India and India of to-day is also reflected in her villages. Cities are but drop in the ocean. Nearly 85 per cent of the total populatio[n] of India resides in villages. It is why, Gandhiji laid muc[h] stress on rural uplift, village economy and small-sca[le]

industries. The village of India to-day's presents a striking contrast to the village of the past *i.e.*, of pre-Independence era. During British regime, Indian villages were not only a neglected place, but were also used to be considered by artificial beaumonde of Britishers as a centre and symbol of illiteracy, ignorance and backwardness almost in every field.

But with the attainment of Independence, Government of India gave all the attention to better the life and living of villages who indubitably, form the very bed-rock of Indian economy. Bharat Sevak Samaj and other organisations of younger intellectualls mainly of students established camps in various community project areas in order to enlighten and educate the village folk in matters like sanitation, sports, health, family planning, literacy and other issues of domestic importance. An Indian village to day has all the basic [illegible] a co-op [illegible] park, a [illegible] a panch [illegible] e village.

The Indian village is really undergoing a transformation and is rising from the old and outworn conventionalism and traditionalism to the modern way of life. It is shunning everything that is backward and unmodern and is adopting slowly and steadily everything that suits the present needs of the society. It is awakening from the old slumber of superstitions and shams, from the orthodox views and dogmatic approaches to a new form of rational thought and enlightenment.

The progress, which Indian villages have made after undergoing all the successive stages of three Five-Year Plan, is tremendous and heartening. All the villages have been electrified and linked with motorable roads and also fitted with public hydrants. Most of the villages have fostered cottage industries like khadi, toys and pottery. The use of tractors and modern means of cultivation like tube-wells, manure and seeds are ma e

available to the cultivators on nominal rates. Even cheap radio-sets have been installed in the community centres and social service centres. Modern system of drainage and sanitation has been made available in some of the Indian villages. Almost all the amenities of modern life are springing up at a rapid pace in the villages of India. The provision of modern paraphernalia of life has taken the villagers out of their narrow grooves of thought and habit and made them politically awakened, economically advanced, socially enlightened and conscious of the thought currents of this whole world.

That concept of Rousseau "back to nature" has been put in a modern and suitable phrase by Congress Government as "back to the villages", as moving away from villages is not a practical process. This type of thinking will retard the place of Indian progress. The entire planning system has been based primarily on agriculture, which will be seriously shattered if the mass of our villagers start moving towards cities in order to find some clean and clerical jobs in the cities. The river valley projects like the Bhakra-Nangal and Damodar have changed the face of Indian villages and have given them a new fervour and a new touch.

To live in the Indian village is to live in the very heart of nature in the abode of nature, in the lap of nature. Villages are nearer to God and so to nature. In villages we lead a life that is simple, natural, chaste and honest as against the artificial, hurried, mechanical and boring humdrum of city life. To live in a village is to be far away from the madding crowd of cities. All the loftiness in human character has sprung from contact between man and nature which is possible more in the villages than in cities. The adulterated foodstuffs of the cities, the smoky atmosphere because of big factories and industries, the mechanical nature of living, the uproar of traffic etc. are some of the jarring features of city life. While, on the other hand, the sweet and soothing atmosphere of villages, calmness and quietness, the sincerity of human relations, the availability of pure, fresh and

unadulterated foodstuffs are some of the striking features of city life. The poet like Wordsworth, the "poet of nature" has sung and praised the charms of the rough and rustic diamonds of the villages. He was immensely and profoundly fascinated by the lure which he found in nature and to him nature was everything including a mother, a teacher, a healer, a God and what not. Even Cowper pithily remarked : "God made the country, and man made the town."

An Indian village is a star attraction to the visiting dignatories and in their itinerary, a visit to a village is a must. Because to them, the real India is the India of her teeming millions who are residing in villages. Moreover the seers and savants, the sages and Rishis of India's ancient heritage spent their simple lives in the lap of nature and villages. The aura of tranquillity and simplicity as presented by villages is quite befitting for their contemplations and meditations. People of village are polite and hospitable. On the whole, an Indian village is a sanctum sanctorum—a holy and sacred place—free from all the artificialities and humdrum life of cities, far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife.

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40. WHAT IS THIS LIFE IF FULL OF CARE, WE HAVE NO TIME TO STAND AND STARE

This pithy jotting of an immortal bard has agitated the minds of many a person of various shades and opinion because the author of this adage has summed up the very life of man, the way in which he spends it. The very contention of the learned poet is that this human life is not worth living, if we rush through it and have no leisure Really speaking, in this boisterous and bewildering, seething and steaming jungle of thoughts, human beings have forgotten to pay any heed to the sights, sounds and scenes of nature. Nature and its objects stand neglected. People are so much engrossed in their duties that they least care for the values w[illegible] ly elevate and entertain life.

As it is said all work and no play makes jack a dull boy. The very index of one's character is the way he makes use of his leisure. A country's standard of civilization is measured from the mode of life and living which her inhabitants lead, *i.e*, how they use public parks, gardens, the youth clubs, the golf links, the tennis lawns. All these things speak volumes in favour of the leisure-consciousness of the people. Moreover leisure, as other important items, forms the part and parcel of life, nay, it is the very spice of life, without which life is dull, drab and dreary full of monotony and melancholy.

With the outcome of modern machinery, lost of time are left at our disposal. There are several labour-saving devices of time in the modern world. This time can be utilized to a great extent by the people for their pleasure and profit. A person who works on constantly without recreation of any sort, becomes irritable, nervous and nuisance to others around him. Over and above this, his mental faculties are not properly developed because wholetime work or wholetime studies without any leisure or play is not the proper way to spend life. Games, sports and other hobbies like gardening, photography, philately, painting, pen-friendship and hiking etc. are the other channels for deriving leisure.

Modern life has become mechanical. It is over-busy life. People are so busy in their day-to-day affairs that what is leisure never crops up in their minds. Scientific discoveries and inventions have worn the interest of the people in the bosom of nature. 'Away from nature' is the slogan of modern civilization, as it was during the time of Jean Jacques Rousseau and around French Revolution. The entire artificial populace of France was sarcastically criticized by Rousseau for their departure from the paraphernalia of nature. 'Back to nature' was the call given by Rousseau and thus interest in nature was received and resuscitated. People have become the prisoners of modern materialism and deadening specialization is going on at a rapid pace. Money-mindedness is

the alpha and omega of modern civilization. People worship mammon, the God of Wealth, and care very little for other right life values. Let it not be forgotten that there is always a sound mind in a sound body. To make the body sound, one will have to take part in extra-curri- [illegible]

Our ancestors knew well the virtues of leisure. In villages, there were centres of gatherings where they sat and smoke 'hooka' and talked good humouredly of village and world affairs. The village 'chaupal' used to act as a news exchange There was the exchange of ideas, cross communication of views, and a lot of worldly wisdom passed on by the aged to the youth. There was plenty of fun and frolic, humour and laughter to recreate and entertain everybody. It was this type of atmosphere which kept them lively and interesting too at a place where there was no arrangement of modern means of recreation like cinema, radio or club.

The words of R. L. Stevenson are apt to quote from his essay "Apology for Idlers", : "Extreme business at school or college, kirk or market, is a symptom of deficient vitality ; and a faculty for idleness implies a catholic appetite and a strong sense of personal identity."

Thus many of us are engaged in doing special jobs ; and having no opportunity to see the working of a whole machinery. Our personalities lack integration. There is no sense of wholeness in our life. But our leisure hours can certainly fill up these gaps in our lives. We can make an assiduous study of life and nature as a whole. Those who live in the madding crowds and noisy surroundings of big cities, hardly find any time to stand and stare at the beautiful objects of nature. The farmer of to-day is greatly relieved because the heavy burden of tilling the land and manuring it and making it ready for sowing has been taken by tractors and other machinery. He can sense and breathe fresh and primal puffs of mor[illegible] breeze and enjoy the bracing climate.

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in which people belonging to and coming from all shades and opinions, religions, races and sects are treated with perfect equality, where everyone would breathe the free and fresh air of her pure and sanctified atmosphere, where the knowledge would be free, where law and order would be perfectly maintained and even more, the India of my sweet dreams would be a country where the very force of reason does not lose its significance and importance

None would be deprived of his fundamental rights, *i.e*, his just and equal rights of free-citizenship, so long as everyone discharged the common obligations which he owed to the state as a whole I would like to make India a cradle of an ideal civilization where hatreds and animosities are driven out. Where people would be made to believe that they are Indians first and Indians last. There would be a clear stream of thought that would have its hay and sway over the affairs of the nation There would be no room for malevolent forces like communalism, chauvinism, chaoism, p [illegible] for religious emotionalism [illegible] like India to be a land c [illegible] scholars, politicians and philosophers, social reformers and great advocates of humanitarian and equalitarian ideals. No quarter would be given to fifth columnists and anti-nationalists who would like to plunge the entire nation in the circles of revolutions and unrest.

India would be a casteless and creedless society—a consolidated and modern nation The economic sanctions and grants would be given to the economically backward people and the criteria of backwardness would not be based upon caste, creed or birth. There would be no minority and majority groups to be counted distinctly but every section of the community or sect would have to merge and assimilate in the mainstream of national life and thought.

As science and technology are the dominant themes of modern age, so special impetus would be given for the

From the history of world life and literature, some nations had special propensity towards such programmes of delectations. Greeks provided and popularized healthy and recreative exercises to the masses in the shape of music, drama, rhetoric, athletics, pageants, oral contests etc. It will be a happy day for us, instead of indulging in useless and harmful revelries like drinking, gambling, idle gossips, we take to healthy and useful gymnasts like hiking, boating, amateur acting, skating, wrestling and social service on a large scale. Then and then only, we will be translating the words of the worthy poet into actions. Leisure is one of the most important elements in the life of man. But for it, life would be dull and boring, devoid of any charm or fascination. It is why a sententious saying is enshrined in Ecclesiaticism, which goes like this : "The wisdom of learned man cometh by opportunity of Leisure." Leisure flowers the genius of a man and makes it versatile. We must consider this profound literary gem and realize the exact sense of it. Life then indeed be a full and fascinating, exalting and enchanting tale, worthy to live and strive.

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41. INDIA OF MY DREAM

Every inhabitant of our country is prone to dream as to what type of India he or she is going to build. The dreams are as many as there are Indians. But for my own part, the India of my dreams would be an India in which the spirit of utilitarianism prevails and the grievances of the teeming millions in groaning poverty and suffering under the mill of industrial capitalism are redressed and that sinister ever-widening gap of rich becoming richer and poor becoming poorer is abridged.

India of my dream may appear to some too imaginative and too romantic *prima facie*, but this enchanting and alluring dreamland can be really converted into reality if we Indians channelize our energies and forces in proper directions. My India would be a democratic state

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ment of the domain of science and technology, form these days the very base of a country's al splendour, economic elevation and industrial ecement. All such research programmes as are ed a must for the progress and prosperity of the n would be encouraged and implemented. Science harbinger of Godly kingdom on earth. It is th siah of the modern world. Everything would be e for the expansion of scientific and technological gramme.

Landlordism would be liquidated totally and all the nd would belong to the State. All the key industries ould be nationalized. Country would be agriculturized, s agriculture is the pivot of planning in India. Greater emphasis would be laid upon agriculture and India would be made self sufficient and self-reliant in almost every basic necessity of life, like food, clothing, housing and other amenities.

Mass education programme would also be launched because for the successful running of the institution of democracy, education forms the most important vehicle of a democratic set-up. An educated and enlightened vote proves a boon and blessing to the country, while contrarily an uneducated vote may prove a bane for the country. Literacy and learning would be extensively given to the Indian massess.

As the defence of the frontiers of the motherland forms the first and foremost duty, so plans would be made defence-oriented. Country would be made self reliant in defence. A stronger nation is respected by the whol world. Whosoever would cast her covetous eyes on th sacred soil of India would be given a befitting rebuttal.

A fresh wave of patriotism and unalloyed nationalis would run through the minds of Indians while India, the same time, would have unbounded faith in w brotherhood and universality of man. A universal w view would be propagated. India would have friend with all and enmity with none. India would shun

power groupings and would tread on the neutrality and non-alignment, without involving her. the internal domestic happenings of any other na. India would be a strong champion of peace and goodw. among nations and would have no truck with the aggressive and arrogant forces. India would propound and practise a foreign policy as is beneficial to all and injurious to none but keeping in view the enlightned self-interest of the nation.

I would like to have in India a planning which would be realistic and pragmatic, yielding results and fruits There would be no lop-sided and ambitious planning. Small-scale indu tries and cottage industries would be encouraged. Big and gigantic schemes of nationl construction pay but less dividends. Dams, hydro-electric projects and sche ı es of rural industrialisation would be 'temples of the modern age', the great monuments of this scientific and industrial civilization.

India of my dreams would be a militarily strong, economically sound, politically astute and visionary, socially and scientifically advanced, a non-communal and secular state, where the last flotsam and jetsam of penury and poverty, ignorance and illiteracy, epidemics, diseases and the like evils would be uprooted and wiped out, so that every citizen may heave a sigh of relief and emerge out from the sterile spectacle of economic exploitation, the greed and hunger of the big business magnates, where corruption would not take roots, Where the highest standards of human behaviour and culture would be maintained, that perhaps would be the India of my dreams.

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42. DEVALUATION

Government of India's decision to devalue the rupee by 36·5 per cent in terms of gold and 57 per cent in terms of dollars, pound sterling and rouble, has evoked much hue and cry in various quarters. The announcement has surprised all except the powers that were exerting pressure on us to take such a step.

Finance Minister Sachindra Chaudhri's cogent argu-
nents in favour of devaluation were heard and read by
one and all. That the country needs an economic reorien-
tation is indubitable. But with it is also necessary what
we call economic discipline. The powers that be consider
devaluation as a fillip to Indian economy. The economic
policies pursued during the last fifteen years have brought
us to that sorry stage where devaluation became inevitable
While some have welcomed this decision, most others
have become the great critics of this dramatic decision
taken by the Government of India.

Many reasons are advanced in favour of devaluation.
The advocates of devaluation say that it will increase the
exports and decrease the imports. But the train of econo-
mists is of the opinion that no such result is likely to
accrue, because now India will have to export 57% more
commodities to earn the same foreign exchange ; and we'll
have to pay 36·5% more to get the same imports. More-
over, overnight our foreign debt has gone up from Rs. 2630
crores to Rs. 4100 crores And during the Fourth Plan
period interest payments alone on these debts will be up
by Rs. 1500 crores.

Thus we shall have to examine the economic implica-
tions involved in this decision. The measure is claimed
to be a corrective. It is also true that Indian economy
needs corrective measures. If we really want to benefit
by this decision, then it is imperative to make a tremen
dous production of goods that are to be exported. W
could make some progress in engineering goods. But her
too the exorbitant cost of imported heavy machinery fo
making these goods is bound to push up the prices
Indian sewing machines, fans, electric motors etc. thereb
keeping exports down Other things that India can expo
are tea, jute and textiles, which no doubt is a slow proc
because it takes years to grow tea and jute.

Yugoslavia also devalued her 'Dinar' years back.
the secret of Yugoslavia's success in devaluing 'Dinar'
that their internal production was tremendous which co

cope with the world markets. Devaluation does help in export promotion, but not in all cases To make devaluation a success, we shall have to boycott imported goods and reduce our internal consumption.

The report of the Ministry of Commerce for 1965-66 makes it amply clear that devaluation will not increase exports, that it will make imports more expensive and thus push up prices.

In the present state of our agriculture there is already, a limit to our agriculture based exports If more is exported, less remains for our internal consumption and that leads to scarcities and thus also in sky-rocketing of prices. The Government proposes to give substantial subsidies to keep prices down. These are estimated at Rs. 165 crores and they are expected to be realised through export duties and discontinuance of import entitlements on exports. But the estimates are on the low side. They will work out much higher Whether the exchequer will bear such heavy burdens without deficit financing still remains unanswered.

Government also proposes the liberalisation of imports. It will certainly have a healthy impact on the prevalent system of permits and licences. But this will seriously affect the actual users, especially those belonging to small-scale industries Liberal imports will give an advantage to the larger and financially stronger units, thus without giving any benefit to the weaker units. The hopes about increased production still lie in the womb of futurity. While the fact remains that with imports becoming more expensive, there will be greater need of foreign exchange budgeting. Moreover with liberalisation, foreign producers are likely to dump their surpluses in India and thus arises the fear of their ruling the Indian market.

As a matter of fact, the issue of devaluation has raised much controversy. Contradistinctive statements are pouring day in and day out. While some economical wizards have justified devaluation others are bitterly critical about it. But let it not be forgotten that without economic discip-

line, devaluation can become a bane for the country. For this Government must take stronger measures to make it a success. Our country is passing through one of the most crucial and critical periods of economic pell-mell. Devaluation can revitalise Indian economy but with it is also needed the co operation of the masses. Masses will have to discard foreign goods and other luxury items. Internal production will have to be stepped up. Then and then, this challenging and daring step of devaluation can kiss the zenith of success.

In the.days after devaluation, which were charged with contradictions and confusions, there was a tall talk that devaluation is the result of foreign pressure, *i.e.*, from International Monetary Fund and World Bank. Moreover the declaration of Aid India Consortium to assist India for her Fourth Five-Year Plan, just ten days after devaluation, confirms the doubts about foreign pressure. Also Shri Sachindra Chaudhri, Finance Minister, in his letter addressed to MPs said, that devaluation was inevitable as all further aid negotiations hinged on it.

The Indian press has adopted a critical attitude towards devaluation. The Indian Express of June 6, 1966, wrote under caption, "Grevious Decision"—'It is the inescapable price the country has to pay for its gay indulgence in grandiose planning, consequent unbridled government spending and generally living far beyond its means over a number of years......................' On the other hand, if the Government could impose fiscal discipline on itself and on the states, and could cut the coat according to the cloth, the present bitter pill would have been dispensable. Criticizing the devaluation, the Economic Times of Bombay wrote editiorially (June 7) under heading "Ill-Advised Plunge"—'It may be that devaluation may herald a temporary spell of economic euphoria flowing from closer accord and amity with our foreign lenders and some isolated patches of improved exports performance, but when the final reckoning in terms of national costs and higher amortisation and interest charges on foreign loan arrives, devaluation might prove too expensive a

luxury that a developing country like India had better refrained from.'

The Statesman of New Delhi has editorially called devaluation a "Clean Up". But it warns:

"There is no denying that the devaluation decision is linked one way or another to aid. The big danger, of course, is that the change may give a fresh push to prices."

Amidst such apprehensions of the result of devaluation, the authorities concerned should gear the process of devaluation in such a way as would give an end to the fiscal and financial sins that are often committed. With a realistic and pragmatic planning, and the inculcation of a sense of sacrifice and dedication in the larger interests of the nation, this process can lead to stabilizing the structure of Indian economy.

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43. U.N.E.S.C.O.

U.N.E S.C.O. is one of the agencies of U.N.O., which came into being on November 4, 1946. The creators of this august organis ıtion were the U.K. and France. The history of this body of the last twenty years of its existence is a splendid record in the annals of world affairs in so far as promoting the very ideas and ideals which have elevated and exalted the general run of humanity from its abysmal ignorance, illiteracy and alike inflictions.

UNESCO has for its fine forte to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further and maintain universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for human rights and fundamental freedoms, which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinctions of race, sex or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations Organisation.

If we go in to peruse the functioning of this good and great body during the last twenty years of its existence, then it will be observed that the role of this organisation in eliminating and eradicating the filth of ignorance, and in upholding the charter of human rights, is really great and spectacular. The work of this body has done a signal service to the cause of humanity.

The activities of UNESCO are manifold. The education programme has three main objectives. The first undertakes the programme of extending the sphere of education by aiding all the under-developed countries. The second objective of the education programme undertaken by this organisation is the improvement of education It endeavours to raise the standard of education. The falling standards of education have caused considerable concern to the educationists and academicians of our times. The narrow paths adopted in the educational system do scant justice to the very institution of education. Education knows no boundaries. It is universal and world wide. It is no preserve of a particular community or nation. Thus to promote and spread this ideal of universality of thought and brotherhood of mankind is one of the most important objectives before UNESCO. It has in the realm of its splendid record a persistent endeavour to bring about an educational system which makes the living possible in a world community and fosters mutual goodwill among nations. UNESCO has held many international conventions in which the discrimination in education is to be removed and equality and justice restored. It is one of the most important diplomatic instruments that UNESCO has been asked to create.

To train teachers specialized in the techniques of fundamental education, UNESCO is helping to establish regional and national training centres. A centre for Latin America was opened in Mexico in 1951, one for the Arab States was set up in Egypt in 1953. UNESCO seeks to promote the progressive application of the right to free and compulsory education for all and to improve the quality of education everywhere. It strives to remove

the last vestiges of ignorance and illiteracy prevailing in the world community.

In the field of natural sciences, UNESCO seeks to promote international scientific co-operation by initiating meetings between scientists and aiding the work of [illegible] 't endeavours and [illegible] to improve the [illegible] . nce is one of the most important branches of human knowledge in this age it has altogether changed the very face of world nations Science has brought about profound revolutions in the [illegible] lustrial spheres. It [illegible] on the promotion [illegible] 'h promise to usher upon humanity an era of material splendour and economic self-sufficiency. UNESCO has set up various science co-operation offices in Cairo, New Delhi, Jakarta and Montevideo.

In its [illegible] vork, UNESCO endeavours [illegible] carrying out research and [illegible] ce, to increase the scope and quality of press, films and radio services throughout the length and breadth of the whole world. Its propaganda programme is extensive It has a number of publications to its credit which expound the various facts of this organisation's policies and programmes.

The organs of UNESCO are . a General Conference (composed of representatives from each member state) and Executive Board (consisting of 24 Government representatives elected by G·neral Conference, and a Secretariat. The aim of National Commissions is to act as liaison groups between UNESCO and the educational, scientific and cultural life of their own countries

On the whole the spectacular and significant performance of UNESCO during the past two decades, will be written in high-sounding words because it has removed to a great extent the nuisance of discrimination, in educati- has enhanced the rate of literacy and learning,

when one has given up the folly of youth and yet at the same time has not acquired the indifference of old age. Manhood can be pursued to glorify in the spirit of youth or one can, if one likes, gaze upon life from a superior height and only laugh upon the follies and frailties of mankind. The period of life is a confluence of youth and old age because it is the period when one still has the passion of youth and has yet to attain the pompous self-righteousness of old age.

As a matter of fact, human nature is so discontented and so paradoxical that youth longs for manhood and manhood yearns for youth while old age pines for both. Our nature is such a strange affair that it has well been described by Shelley when he says, "We look before and after and pine for what is not." So in this contradictory state of affairs which thing should be preferred, youth or age? To answer this we cannot be extremist but will have to follow the very circle of nature, *i. e.*, welcome what comes and make use of each period to the best of our ability and capacity. We need giving a proper attitude to our life, an attitude which should make or find youth glories and buoyance, and old age happy and contented. Wordsworth sings in his poetry, the very period of his youth, its animal pleasures and passions, its wild thoughts and joyish sports. He was very much overwhelmed by his childhood period and recollects it in his writings.

But there are others who despise life altogether because to them life is a study in sufferings and sorrows. To a cynic, who says 'Youth is a blunder, manhood a struggle and old age a regret', is nothing but the outpourings of a desperate mind drowned in the wells of sentimentality and overpowered by melancholy mood. Youth can be blunder in the sense that it can err by com-
[illegible] and destroy the real
[illegible] one can be misled and
[illegible] of thought and mind
[illegible] tting spoiled. Youth is
that stage and phase in the life of man that he can make or mar his future. It is his training ground for [illegible]ing

rt of living as well as to strictly follow the manners mannerisms of life, the very decency, decorum and pline of life. If he shirks to discipline, then the very del of his life will crumble His life will become a ged, unsystematic and haphazard road where there ll be a possibility of occurring disastrous accidents quite trimental and dangerous to his own breeding. As ranklin observes : 'Reckless youth makes a rueful age.' o youth is the period of learning, age is the period of nderstanding. Youth at the same time is also gay, while age is melancholy to some people. The flower of youth is almost liked by one and all because of its soundness, sturdiness and strength, because of its exuberant gaiety. That is why Longfellow would have it :

'How beautiful is youth ! how bright it gleams
With its illusions, aspirations and dreams !
Book of Beginnings, Story without End,
Each maid a heroine, and each man a friend !'

Thus every man looks upon life from his own angle, and sees life with his own glasses. A reckless youth will mar the happiness of his nearest and dearest ones if he resorts to criminal acts. He will be certainly shunned by society because he not only puts himself to trouble but also his parents and dependents. He then proves a menace to society and revolts against the prevailing traditions and customs in a destructive and unbefitting way.

It is perhaps in the light of this background tha William Pitt had to say to Walpole : "The atrocious crim of being a young man." But this is not least denying t fact that it is the youth who moderates himself and abh all the obsolete customs and conventions, traditions a traits. Because no institution is permanent, no trut sacred until and unless it serves the needs of the ti place and circumstances. Youth has the courage vitality to take the initiative which is very much la by old age.

The dome of age depends upon the foundation of As it is said, "as a twig is bent, so the tree will g

So is the case with youth. The fruits of old age can only be enjoyed if the plant of youth is well caressed for and looked after. Otherwise the boners and blunders of youth will certainly make the age a painful process of life and we will have nothing but regret. To make old age happy [illegible]

[illegible]

the moments of frustrations, and dejections and yet there must have been moments of ecstasy and exhilaration, of [illegible]

[illegible]

quote the lines of Shakespeare when he says, "Nothing is good or bad but thinking makes it so." Presently, men like Russell preach that old men should never live on memories He must start anew. He must approach life in order to explore fresh fields and pastures new Then and then only will he feel the glow of youth in his age. Otherwise youth is youth and age is age and as Shakespeare observes in his, "The Passionate Pilgrim."

> Crabbed age and youth cannot live together ;
> Youth is full of pleasure, age is full of care ;
> Youth like summer morn, age like winter weather;
> ....
> Youth is nimble, age is lame ,
> Youth is hot and bold, age is weak and cold ;
> Youth is wild, age is tame ;
> Age, I do abhor thee , youth, I do adore thee.

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45. TRAVEL AS A PART OF EDUCATION

"Travel in the younger sort is a part of education ; in the elder—a part of experience". Bacon's pithy saying was never so true as it is today. Modern world i

for travelling. Science has brought the countries so closer that to the modern means of communication and transport, they are just neighbouring provinces, where people exchange visits and views.

A glance down the centuries points that ancient India had a great prejudice against travelling abroad. Our great leaders like the saintly figures of Gandhiji and Raja Ram Mohan Roy had to face severe and scathing criticism from our masses for travelling abroad. In the India of ancient times travelling abroad was looked down upon with prejudice. But now the prejudice against foreign travel has faded out. There is a terrific and tremendous increase in tourist traffic both by air and sea today.

With greater contacts on international level, travelling has become very popular. Due to wider and greater international contacts on social, economic, educational and political levels, individual men as well as delegations on goodwill missions have been on the move from one country to another country. We see and read from newspapers about the arrival and departure of countless delegations. For a student of science a visit to scientific laboratories and research centres is most essential in present times. Trade and commercial delegations are coming and going in order to learn and know the latest trends in international trade. A visit to factories reveals the practical application of science to industry. So to understand this individual process a visit to countries which are more advanced in the field of science and technology become a must for one who wants to expand and extend the bounds of his knowledge and to make use of this knowledge in the upliftment of his own country in the like fields.

Travelling is not merely meant for entertainment and recreation but with it there is expansion of one's vistas of mind, his mental outlook is broadened, his mind stirred, his experience gets enlightened and his whole thought-structure takes a better form to be applied for the profit and advancement of his own country. Moreover with travelling come so many other virtues like tolerance and

[illegible] by a universal outlook.

From the educational point of view, trips and travelling is of immense use. The trips to other lands would make one learn more than all the books put together. History, Art, Geography, Sociology, Economics and Political Science etc. can best be studied by undertaking educational trips. By actually seeing the historical monuments and other places of historical interest, we know more and learn easily about history. By actually witnessing the social structure of other countries, we can better underst and sociology. An experience of the political systemss of other countries makes us easy to understand the ubject of political science. Moreover, we begin to appreciate the sterling qualities of peoples of other countries. We come to know their racial, ethical, ethnical and social structures. One learns to be amiable and sociable with others.

Every great country of the world has broadened her sphere of progress and planning, education and learning, arts and crafts by undertaking intensive travelling throughout the length and breadth of the world. During the Elizabethan age, there was a great interest in travelling. All the great scholars and statesmen, litterateurs and leaders, poets and prose writers, dramatists and novelists took peregrination to foreign lands, which were famous as the centres of culture and civilization, of literacy and learning. Any one, during the Shakespearean age who had not seen the gondolas of Venice, the architecture of Rome, the pyramids of Egypt as well as [illegible] like Padua and Bologne, [illegible] umnis of education, was [illegible] When the currents of knowledge and learning swept the shores of England [illegible]

parnassus of great literary movements, a land of highest learning, a cradle of refined and renowned civilization and culture. Byron, Shelley and Wordsworth travelled widely. Even Milton, the great bard of England, had peregrination trips to many foreign lands in a bid to know more and learn more. A nobleman's son had to go out to complete his education. In the Victorian era, an epoch of doubt and uncertainty, of science and scepticism, people were fired by the idea of travel to unknown lands. The lust for travel in Europeans also culminated in their colonial desires and they established colonies abroad. Ulysses symbolizes the spirit of research and travel which is intrinsically rooted in the heart of humanity.

Travelling is really an essential part of education Travel-books like Stevenson's 'Travels with a Donkey' Marco Polo's 'Travels in the East', Aldous Huxley'. 'Jesting Pilate', Edwin Arnold's 'India Revisited', Gulliver's Travels, the thrilling travel accounts of Fai Hein-Hieun Tsang and Bernier have certainly enriched, and increased the volumes of world literature by opening up new horizons of knowledge and enquiry by visiting the countries so far apart as India, China and France. These books are the treasures of world literature and provide the students with the rich background of the respective countries its socio-politico-economic exposition and various other aspects of its life and living.

The cross-communication and cross-fertilization of news and views can well be carried out by undertaking trips to foreign countries. We have seen how Radio, Press and like means of communication distort truth in politics for the sake of propaganda. Press gives a partial view of the various political and national events. So the best means of mutual co-operation and international harmony and understanding is to encourage international traffic of thought, by instituting internatio al scholarships and fellowships at the various Indian Universities and Institutes and foreign universities, as is being done under the aegis of UNESCO.

Bacon's didactic remark has proved very much true especially in this age of ours. Travelling is really the very *sine qua non* of modern education. In the younger sort, travelling is part of experience and experience is the best teacher of man. It must be encouraged if we actually want to have the factual and up-to-date data and knowledge of the modern developments in all the fields of human thought and activity.

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46. THE ROLE OF STUDENTS IN FREE INDIA

Students have played their role even during pre-Independence era, by joining hands with all the nationalist and patriotic forces in our country who were engaged in the monumental task of uprooting the British hegemony, which was a cancer in the body politic of India. The saga of their splendid courage and heroism is known to one and all.

But as soon as the freedom was won, students had to contribute their maximum, in the reservoir of national development and upliftment. Those who have witnessed the crucial days of partition and the aftermath, must recollect about the role which students of India played in rescuing and protecting their fellow brethren from the bloody clutches of the enemy The communal clashes and other acts of savagery and barbarism perpetrated by the enemies on Hindus, and the subsequent scenes of loot, arson, rape and ravage stirred the hearts of our students who at once came out to shed even the last drop of their blood in order to save their kith and kin, their fellow-countrymen from the deadful jaw of the enemies. Not only that students engaged themselves in the most precious and timely task of saving their fellowmen from the marauders, but they also helped a good deal in giving protection to places of religion as well as hearths and homes.

In a free and independent country like ours having a democratic form of government, it becomes the duty of

every student to preserve and protect this high institution of democracy, that too at a time, when all the countries on the periphery of India as well as in Asia and Africa have been coiled in one form of dictatorship or other though masquerading as 'Guided Democracy' here and 'Basic Democracy' there. India is the only country where the torch of freedom and flame of democracy is glowing. The community of students, being politically conscious, will have to gear up the campaign of educating the illiterate and ignorant masses of our land. It is their main duty to apprise the people of all the happenings of national importance.

The students of a country are the great potential strength, resources and energy. If their energy and talents are directed in a proper and constructive channel, the country will be extremely benefited.

Nowadays, students have been organizing social service camps in the villages. During their camping they do the job of building roads and bridges, educating the villagers about their health and hygiene as well as teaching the rustics the three R's. These social service camps also help in forging links of villages with villages and cities with cities. In the last nineteen years of India's independence the students of our country have changed considerably the very map of rural India. They have helped in clearing slums and constructing new types of houses in the villages, which are airy and spacious.

Students can also play a tremendous role at a time when country is threatened from external aggression or internal subversion. They can provide the first aid amenities as well as can keep watch and vigilance in their respective localities and thus can become the essential instruments in safeguarding the interests of the civilians, their safety and security. In the wake of Chinese aggression of 1962 and Pakistan's recent aggression students of India had helped a great deal by joining the Civil Defence Organisations.

As a mattter of fact, students are the wealth of a nation. They are the makers of modern India. On them depends the progress, prosperity and the multilateral development of the country. They can mould the political and social path of the country. But they must canalize their energies and resources for the greatest good of the greatest number. They must keep before them as their ideal to serve the national interest. To serve enlightened national interest should be the motto of their endeavours. They must not do anything that may hamper the growth of country's development or tarnish the image of secularity or that may jeopardize the institution of democracy. Like great leaders, they too are the guardians and custodians of our country's way of life, its security and stability.

It is also to be noted by the students that they are not misled by clever and crafty politicians who only want to further their own ulterior motives by inciting and exploiting the student world Students should guide themselves by keeping before them the honour and integrity of the nation. It is a sad commentary on the part of students how they have grossly indulged in some of the most objectionable activities in some parts of our country simply at the incitement of some political pedagogues, and demagogues who want to further only their own ends. The setting on fire of Governmental property and other public loss done by the students are some of the most glaring absurdities of their behaviour which have been painfully witnessed in the recent happenings of Calcutta during food crisis and in Punjab over the Punjabi Suba controversy. Students sh uld not take part in the politics wholly though they must be aware as to what is happening around them.

Students have played and can play a vital role in the advancement of our country. They should harness their physical and mental power in order to take their country on the zenith of world glory and advancement in social, economical, educational and scientific spheres.

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47. THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF AN INDIAN CITIZEN

An Indian citizen is living to-day in an independent te, having a democratic form of government. In ch a state the individual is privileged to enjoy very any number of political and civil rights. The Indiar tizen enjoys these rights along with other members of ne democratic community. In the preamble to our onstitution are written the fundamental rights to be enjoyed by Indian citizen. These rights give him protection of law, for his own person and property. He enjoys freedom of thought, speech, expression, of association, of movement. He is also free to adopt any way of worship. Ours is a secular society, a non-religious state. In the purview of his political rights, he is entitled to exercise his franchise, to get elected to Legislative Assemblies, and to hold public offices, if qualified. According to our constitution, a lowest man, if qualified, can reach the topmost position of the land. He thus shares in the general administration of the country, directly or indirectly.

But in the political theory, there cannot be any right without the corresponding obligation and duty. He must be conscious of his duties and aware of his responsibilities as regards to state. As the state offers the free citizen some inalienable rights, so the citizen must of necessity render some service to the state. He will have to alter his loyalties at the altar of the motherland. He must owe unconditional allegiance to his state, loyally serve it if called upon to do so, and even sacrifice his private interests in the larger interests of the democratic community. In a free country, like India, he must show every respect for the laws of his country, and pay his dues and taxes in time.

If he really wants to make democracy a success, then he must be politically conscious and also needs to under- stand the cross-currents of politics. He must contribut his maximum in order to uplift and advance his countr almost in every walk of life. It is his moral duty t

safeguard the vital interests of the nation during external aggression, internal subversion or financial chaos. He must be prepared to sacrifice his everything in order to defend the territorial integrity of his country. In the wake of Pakistani aggression over India in September, 1965, how our country became united, strong was the proof that Indian citizenry have become well aware of its duties and obligations.

An Indian citizen should also note that he has no truck with to the forces of communalism, chaoism, chauvinism and parochialism He must be an Indian first and anything last. He must condemn all such sinister forces who preach secession from and subversion in India. He must not support the traitorous and fifth-columnist activities of some people who are actively engaged in briging an insurrection in our country

Apart from an Indian citizen's services to the state, he owes his duties to his fellow citizens too He must enjoy his right without interfering with those of others. But he must bear in mind that to uphold the law of the land is his first and foremost duty. He must not indulge in such activities as may endanger and jeopardise the state of law and order It must be maintained at all costs. On the other hand, the Indian citizen has to do his utmost to ameliorate the conditions of life of his fellow-citizen. render aid and assistance in time of danger and difficulty. He must follow the principle of mutual help and co-operation because on this superb path depends the progress and prosperity of the country. As a free citizen of a democratic country, it is his paramount duty to honour the principles of democracy and work for the greatest good of the people. Because the path of duty is the only way to achieve glorious results.

The obligations. duties and responsibilities are, of course, to be performed enthusiastically, without any grudge towards any. We must follow the very law of the land, because upon it depends our future greatness and strength. All this demands that the citizens of India must respect the way of life, which we have adopted.

tread on the path of secularism and democracy which we have cherished, must eschew sectarian and fissiparous tendencies, and on the whole must be conscious of his duty, otherwise if he throws all these things to winds, he will be responsible for paving the way of dictatorial trends in our country.

We have to-day before us a direct development of a disastrous degeneration which our worthy President called as "diseases of spirit" as we are witnessing as to what is happening in our legislatures. These custodians of law and order are themselves acting in such a sinister way that there is every possibility of a danger to our democracy and secularism. As it is said, 'eternal vigilance is the pirce of liberty', so we must be aware of all things as are derogatory to national self-interest.

Indian citizen is an essential part of the whole, *i.e.*, the totality of our nation. It is from individual characters that the very concept of a nationhood starts. For the good of the nation, as Ulysses S. Grant says, "no personal consideration should stand in the way of performing a public duty." Indian citizen must consider that country comes first. He must not do anythiug that may shatter the national image. Hence every citizen must step forward to the aid of democratic values and secular ideals willingly, courageously and faithfully. Then and then, his liberty can be protected.

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48. THE VALUE OF YOUTH FESTIVAL

Youth festivals have their own value and cultural significance in the activities of a country. Youth festivals in these days form a media of understanding, of cross-communication of news and views between youths all over the country. Youth festivals are an integral part of a country's cultural activities. Inter-University youth festivals are held in our country, every year at Delhi, where the community of students participate in the variegated festivals. Students come from all the universities of India Delhi becomes the hub of cultural programmes,

educational seminars, debating centres and of other symposia and carnivals as well.

In these youth festivals, the leading luminaries in the world of education, eminent personalities participate by delivering lectures on national, international and educational problems. Besides this, various cultural programmes, for example, dance and drama, poetry and music, declamations and elocutions are organized. Even, youth festivals have come to be celebrated on international scale, where athletics and games are conducted on competitive lines. These carnivals nourish promising young talents, and those proficient in the different fields of intellectual and physical activity get a chance to exhibit and display their individual merits, hidden talents, or get impetus to improve upon their previous achievements and records.

The air of gaiety, mirthfulness and hilarity which prevails upon these festivals is heartening, and entertaining and thus helps to remove the trace of boredom and melancholy from the participants as well as spectators. Students get the opportunity to remove their shy nature and other drawbacks. They get a chance of sitting together, talking together and discussing together general problems which they face in their university life. A sense of sportsmanship and broadmindedness is inculcated among students. They hate the narrow walls of provincialism, parochialism and superior education complex. These youth festivals bring about an 'entente cordiale'. There is no inhibition one may suffer from. This fact is highly congenial in bringing forth the best that a man possesses. In this lofty and jubilant atmosphere there is freedom of association, an occasion for exchange of views and feelings in free spirit; and through such mixings the barricades of distance and unfamiliarity as also of thought and ideology are expected to be removed and clarified.

Young men and women assembled in such festivals have enough of fun and frolic, which is enlivening and healthy for all. It is also hoped that these festivals are free from vulgar competitions, corruptions and intrigue

find in other spheres. Youth festivals help a good great deal in keeping the spirit of youthfulness ever en and alive, refreshing and inspiring. Because youths the reservoir of a country's strength, energy. In these uth festivals, younger university intellectuals are directd by the educationists and academicians to inculcate a nse of nationalism and patriotism, to imbibe a sense of rvice and sacrifice in the cause of the country. Whereas nese are also exhorted to engage themselves in the creave pursuits of life. Education's purpose is to bring about reative geniuses which are useful to the society, is also one of the objectievs of youth festivals. Through them can be imparted the physical and moral discipline, a spirit of dedication and duty which again will infuse in them the ideals of good citizenship and comradeship. This aim should also be kept in view.

So, great is the importance and significance that is attached to youth festivals. All the visiting dignitaries and scholars in the festivals urge upon the youths to infuse in themselves the correct values of life Their educative aspect is really important and significant. They are provided healthy and cordial atmosphere, a sportive competition about things. A young man should find interest in these gorgeous festivals in helping countless young men and women to prepare themselves for future. "As a twig is bent, so the tree will grow," is also true in case of a youth. As a youth is educated, instructed, so he will act to morrow. The tender offshoots of youth will flower into the towering manhood of to-morrow.

Keeping these aspects in view, our Government is providing all sorts of help including financial assistance, to encourage such fairs and festivals. It is only through such sprees and fairs and festivals that the youths of India drink at the springs of their ancient cultural heritage and in turn become the unalloyed nationalists and patriots. This is the best training ground for leadership, where their mental horizons are broadened, their intellectua intrinsic worth is exhibited, their other faculties of hea and heart are flowered, and thus become the leading ligh of their country to-morrow.

This is the very quintessence of youth festivals. Their very purpose is defeated, if there is only noise and clamour, cheap delight in songs and gay abandon, or some scenes of rowdyism Youths must be apprised of their duties and responsibilities lying ahead. Otherwise, these festivals are bound to prove shallow and hollow. A brave acceptance to all these is what is expected of them.

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49. INDIAN COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

[illegible] centuries. [illegible] of Indian [illegible] variety of [illegible] to textiles of attractive designs and of various kinds. This trade was pre-eminent in the past. As a majority of Indians used to live and are still living in villages, so the cottage industries had the reason to flourish and grow in our country.

In our country, the cottage industries mostly function as isolated and independent units without the aid of electrical or mechanical contrivances. The village weaver had his simple paraphernalia of weaving and was easy to [illegible] necessary scientific assistance.

The cottage industries in our country broadly include occupations directly or indirectly related to agriculture, such as, handicrafts pursued by artisan, processing industries carried on with human or animal power chiefly in cottage, etc. The artists and craftsmen, the carpenters and blacksmiths, produce their articles which are perfect in design and shape and bear the mark of excellent taste and a fine sense of beauty.

The potteries of northern India, the silk textiles of Bengal, Banaras and South India, bell metal utensils of

Bengal, the ornamental brassware of Moradabad, the toys of Krishnagar and other products, are among the finest productions of our cottage industries. Apart from these industries, there are the jewellery, ivory, carpet, artistic chinaworks, and the works of hundred other varieties. These numberless examples are symptomatic of India's rich past. which is pregnant with the superb examples of rich traditional art of India, built and accomplished through generations of patient and onerous practice. Such articles, which are symbols of our dexterity, of ingenuity, are the finest specimens of human skill and artistry. Even in this age of downright science and technology, the cottage industries of India have resisted and withstood the onslaught of machine-made goods for centuries, without any help or support from the Government. The Indian cottage industries have survived due to the inherited skill of the artisans, who have the patronage and appreciation of both the people and the Government.

It is an ardent necessity to develop the cottage industries, and the State Governments can help a lot in boosting it. The co-ordination between cottage industries and small-scale industries can be brought about by the Central Government.

The Planning Commission has duly recognised the Union Government's responsibility, and has also emphasized the importance of such industries in the agricultural economy of the country and recommended the establish ment of an organization by the Central Government of the implementation of various programmes and projects. Our Government has really done a signal services in setting up cottage industries on a sound basis. By assisting the handloom weaving industries by subsidies, the production of Khadi is being encouraged and adequate financial help is also extended to these industries. The Central Cottage Industries is run on Government lines and various things beginning from textiles to metals, products of wood-work, jewellery, and handicrafts are sold at reasonable rates. The Handloom House and

Khadi and Gramudyog Bhavan also cover the articles of daily life and needs with the guarantee of purity and fine quality.

As a matter of fact, the Indian cottage industry is progressing by leaps and bounds. It has even replaced some of the machine-made things. Our handicrafts are [illegible] articles to be taken to their homes abroad.

These cottage industries are just like small-scale [illegible] during the British rule in India. Rope-making, cane-work, toy-making and embroidery are some of the other important cottage industries of India. This provides work to the villagers in their spare hours Japan has a net-work of cottage industries that is why it is called as Britain of the East.

In the light of above experience, cottage industries must be given a special impetus because it not only provides employment facilities to villagers and other people but these also yield prolific results in a short time as compared to big projects. This will usher in an era of prosperity and progress which all of us greatly cherish.

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50. THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

The world scene to-day is fraught with confronting and conflicting ideologies, political, economic and social. Further, the division of this world into the two groups of capitalism and communism as represented by Anglo-American bloc and Russian bloc respectively presents a potential threat to the existence of the entire world and,

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articles to be taken to their homes abroad.

These cottage industries are just like small-scale industries which the workers carry on in their homes, with cheap and simple tools, with small capital. These industries were providing the needs of the people of this country as well as of foreign countries, before the advent and during the British rule in India. Rope-making, cane-work, toy-making and embroidery are some of the other important cottage industries of India. This provides work to the villagers in their spare hours. Japan has a net-work of cottage industries that is why it is called as Britain of the East.

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actually speaking, the political atmosphere is so surcharged and ridden with ideas and ideologies that any wrong step by any major power would spell the extinction of humanity. We are at the cross-roads. The world is passing through an unprecedented crisis and political chaos, made all the more painful and bitter by the struggle for supremacy of thought and ideology waged by the different titanic powers The two power blocs differ not only in their spheres of influence but in ideologies too. The Russian bloc adheres to the doctrines of Karl Marx, while the Western powers profess their faith in democracy. The farmers are the zealous devotees of communism, which according to them is the panacea for all the ills and woes. Thus the struggle to-day is not a trial of military prowess but a relentless war of ideologies and rival political systems.

To bring this world out from the quagmire of politics, to put the world on the perpetual path of peace and happiness, Pt. Nehru enunciated the principle of co-existence in his historic 'Panchsheel Treaty'. Later on the inwardness of this principle was preached, propounded and propagated in the whole world because peaceful co-existence is a ray of hope and optimism to live honourably and peacefully. As Shri Nehru stated succinctly "co-existence or co-destruction"—these are the two courses open to the world.

If the two world powers learn to live in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, respecting each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty as well as not interfering into the internal domestic happenings of each power bloc, then only the people of the world can heave a sigh of relief But the trouble starts the moment they try to extend their fields of activity and spheres of influence and bring others into their own orbit of domination. This sort of wishful thinking has led the various nations of the world into a mad race of armament and proliferation of nuclear weapons. The verbal duel, the wordy war or the cold war is gnawing the vitals of each power group and this peculiar kind of war is so relentless in expression and

unflinching in determination that it appears there is no escape from it. Both the power blocs are busy in inventing the lethal weapons and other deadly weapons of war that competition in this mad race has reached the shocking heights. The evil genius of politicians has arrived at its darkest point and the destruction of the world is a matter of moments. The whole world stands on the brink of ruin and destruction.

But again one question arises as to what is the answer to this monstrous development of modern politics ? Should the countries embark upon manufacturing the latest weaponry of war aud thus avert the catastrophe or else they should agree to a general disarmament and work for the peace and prosperity of the whole world ?

Both these questions put in a difficult situation for the time being but ultimately the innerself compels to adopt the latter attitude and create an "entente cordiale". The dangerous drift towards war must be averted and curbed. It is to be replaced by a policy of understanding, of goodwill and cordiality by following the sacred and lofty maxims of peaceful co-existence in the same spirit in which the evangel of peace, Sri Nehru enunciated it. Peaceful co existence or 'live and let live' is a movement in the right direction. Every peace-loving nation wants to ride on the band wagon of peaceful co existence. Herein is found the echo and internal voice of every lover of peace, which struggles and sighs for a life, happy, undisturbed, free and jocund. It is why, many countries of Asia, Africa and Europe rallied around this principle of peaceful co-existence, which according to them was the summum bonum of their hopes and aspirations.

The principles of co-existence, *i.e.*, non-interference and mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and integrity are unwarrantedly laudatory. The newly freed nations of the world found it best to honour it faithfully in letter and spirit because they are the real props of peace, and if pursued with sincerity by the nations of the world, they may brighten up the face of the tormented, confused and war-torn world of to-day.

The spectre of war has already been haunting this world. The twentieth century is a witness to two world wars of grave magnitude. The two world wars have really put the pace of progress in reverse order. Humanity is still licking the terrible and horrible afflictions of the two last wars which brought havoc and holocaust on a gigantic scale. To avoid and avert such cataclysms and disasters, the answer finds its eloquent expression in the pithy principle of peaceful co-existence. Co-existence is a ray of hope and happiness for the multitudes of the world. It is an answer to the suffering and suppressed humanity against the red-eyed threats of war. War is no solution to human problems rather it multiplies problems and makes them grave.

Against this background are framed and expounded the ideal principles of co-existence. It must be followed if the humanity wants to survive the disasters and annihilation of the third world war which will be nothing but an essay in death and destruction.

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51. JOURNALISM AS A PROFESSION

Journalism is one of the most learned professions of modern times. Journalism constitutes the literary business of publishing and editing newspapers or periodicals. Anyone, wishing to adopt journalism as a profession must have a comprehensive knowledge of the current affairs, vital events and party politics of a country. A journalist would have to study extensively the entire panorama of history, politics, geography, economics and literature. Clarity of thought, proper conception of subjects, cool thinking, razor-sharp intellect, profound understanding, calculating disposition and quick as well as impartial and well-balanced judgment are the essential requisites in journalistic profession. Over and above a journalist is supposed to have a deep insight into the subject, a thorough grasp of the prevailing political situation, adequate imagination, masterly command over language and above all ability to read and observe correctly and accurately

and facility in the journalistic technique. A sound insight into human psychology and the art of influencing people's minds are added qualifications There are innumerable kinds of journals. Some cater to religion, science, literature, music, art, sports, while most of the magazines and newspapers are the mouth-pieces of political parties in the country.

On a journalist rest the great responsibilities. He is entrusted to mobilize and educate public opinion over various national and international issues. A journalist is

democratic country, press plays a vital role. A journalist must be a versatile genius possessing multilateral faculties of a politician. statesman economist, humanist, judge, psychologist and what not. On them rest the good and great responsibilities of making the people politically conscious, to maintain good relations between countries, to

scientific ones.

[illegible] is a noble profession

udiced way, writi[illegible]

masses simply in a bid to make profit, is nothing short of gross betrayal of public confidence. He must present the facts, as they are, without misquoting, and distortion. He must maintain a standard of journalism and should not fall into the ditch of irresponsible and cheap journalism of showering slanders and abuses on others. Otherwise, it is not journalism but yellow journalism.

A journalist's job, no doubt, is risky. He is a man who collects the factual data from the fronts during war days and despatches to the press authorities. Many journalists have lost their lives during war days. It is their duty to present the people the first-hand information about the scene at the battlefront. At the same time he will have to be well aware of the Press Laws and Defence of the country's Rules. In our country, the press is the 'kept press' of some people. So journalists have to play to the tune of authorities even if it is meant stifling their conscience. Political confrontation, unwholesome social atmosphere, unhealthy competition, coupled with the appalling backwardness of the country have made the profession degraded and unattractive, while the press in Western countries is considered to be a most noble platform, most paying at the same time and attracts the best brains—the men of sound knowledge, light and culture, understanding and intelligence.

With the achievement of independence. began a period f material splendour and prosperity of the press. Press s the torch-bearer for the ignorant and illterate millions of our land. The papers published in various Indian languages are reaching the masses and in turn educating them on the national scene as well as providing them honest guidance as necessary to maintain the present democratic set-up of our country. But still we are to strive to bring the standards of journalism on par with the Western journalism and to achieve this, there must be organized co-operative effort, State aid and scientific training.

It must be noted that strenuous efforts are made to rid the profession of journalism of some shortcomings and drawbacks, which wittingly or unwittingly have crept into it. Indian press being a private enterprise have low paid staff, its hours of work, wages and other prospects are not merely unregulated but far from being satisfactory. There are no good schools of journalism to impart practical training. Whatever be the output, that too is unartistic, unscientific, lacking miserably in statesmanly,

scientific, literary, scholarly, and political background. A code of moral conduct is urgently needed to be practised by the journalists.

The illustrious role which Indian journalism has played during this century is worth cheristing. Journalists, like the revolutionaries, jumped into the arena of press and [illegible] public service most [illegible] sed the hypocrisy, t [illegible] regime in India. T [illegible] committed by Britishers were [illegible] in public by the team of Indian journalists. A nation's standard of journalism has the deepest impact and influence on the course of that nation's progress, its history, its relations with the whole world Press has the first and foremost duty to serve the enlightened self-interest of the nation through bringing to light fearlessly the cases of corruption, graft and political aggrandizement.

A journalist's pen should write disinterestedly, dispassionately and in a detached way and should criticize the judge and chief in the same way as both recieve sunshine. Criticism should be constructive, reporting should be responsible, correct, sincere, impartial and reliable. Press freedom should be guarded, private rights honoured and mistakes should be rectified without any hesitation. Political fidelity is essential. To give a right lead to the nation, its people, is the primary task of a journalist. Opinion on every issue of national or international, social or economic, political or commercial importance must be given by the press. Because, press is the real leader in a country which has a democratic form of government and mass illiteracy.

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52. SOCIALIST PATTERN OF SOCIETY

The concept of socialism is not new for India. It finds its origin deep down the centuries, when people in India talked about it. Kautilya, Shukra and Santiparra of

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Mahabharata referred to the pattern of society which had striking similarities to the socialism of modern India. People thought that the creation of such a society is quite in keeping with the traditions and genius of India, with the Indian way of life. India of four thousand years ago, was a cradle of civilization, a home of everything. No problems of land or population existed and the distribution of national produce was an equitable one.

Socialist pattern of society, broadly speaking, is the very essence of the directive principles of Indian Constitution. This term concretizes pithily the inward meaning of our constitution. The conditions in which we are living today have changed. Today we are ranked among the under-developed nations of the world. The man-land ratio has become precarious ; agriculture is over-stuffed and the strength of large scale industries is not upto the mark that it may absorb the surplus farm-population. This has resulted in under-employment and unemployment.

So the Avadi resolution of the Indian National Congress gave the eloquent expression to this urge of modern India. The Congress resolution was framed so that a plan may be pruned which should enable the country to tide over the economic slavery and economic stagnation. To understand this concept completely, it is necessary to study the "Economic Policy resolution" passed at the Avadi Congress Session.

This resolution exhorts for a substantial advance on the economic and social plane, with the definite objective of increasing production and also emphasizing at fuller employment within ten years. The resolution has to state further that Welfare State and Socialist Economy is the very crux of the policies and programmes to be adopted by Congress. To accomplish these aims and objectives, the resolution underlines the need for the building up of heavy industries and small scale industries and extension of cottage industries. It is also enshrined in the monumental resolution that the State will play a vital

role in the planning and development of the country. Private sector will continue to have its importance. Far reaching economic, social and industrial changes will have to be brought about "speedily and effectively by peaceful and democratic processes", asserts the resolution.

The slogan, "Socialist Pattern of Society", is a movement, a compaign to create a million in which a common man, who was [illegible] leges of partici[illegible] able fields, is [illegible] social and economic regeneration of the country and also find opportunities to reap the fruits of his efforts

The present programme of building a socialist pattern of society and a Socialist Economy is quite in conformity with the directive principles of state policy of the Constitution, which points out that "The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting, as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall permeate all the institutions of national life."

The above words are the very cornerstone of the topic in discussion.

The socialist pattern of society has its basic objective to establish a social and economic order based on equality of opportunity and on social economic and political justice. In this society there would be no distinctions based on caste, creed or community, sex or social and economic status and also guarantees security of right to work and right to a living wage for all able-bodied citizens.

The State shall own and effectively control the principal means of production and material resources of the community in the best interests of the nation.

In the socialist pattern of society, an economic system will be organised which does not result in the concentration of wealth and economic power. To increase and speed up the total wealth in the country, systematic attempts will be made. There will be no irrational distribution of

and also the widespread disparities in income are educed to the minimum.

ur conception of socialism is not based upon the ism which is practised in European countries. Our l concept does not imply the complete nationalization economic activity but the small-scale and cottage ustries are also to be encouraged and given the official ronage ; co-operatives also to be introduced gradually d the Big Business and captains of indsutry have to show spirit of service to the community as a whole.

It is expected that such high-sounding slogans should e really translated into action. India has adopted innumerable slogans, since independence. We have embarked upon a slogan mongering campaign, but we are yet far away from our cherished ideals and goal. We must strive to build a socialist society economically independent and self-sufficient by adopting non-violent and democratic methods. Socialist pattern strives to encourage individual initiative and personal interest, which is essential for a healthy industrialisation. A sense of consecration and dedication should pervade in the people. Employment opportunities, protection and preservation of national health, abolition of land-lordism and feudalism and no truck with the forces of linguism, casteism, provincialism, parochialism, chauvinism and religious jingoism, emotional fanaticism and crude sentimentalism must be considered. There should be no quarter for vested interest, graft and garb. Regulation of rent, profit, wages and interest, provision of technical and professional education, housing facilities are the main objectives to be achieved in the sphere of economic change.

Let every citizen of India think that he has to contribute something in the social and economic regeneratio of the country. This spirit will imbibe the ideals democracy, *viz.*, spirit of tolerance and accommodation the domain of religion and race, it will also include t first ideals that we greatly love and long for, *i.e.*, political liberty, government by consent, social justice economic freedom. Over and above, there will be a sup synthesis of capitalism and socialism, the relatio

between capital and labour which is in the best interests of the progress and prosperity of the nation.

This concept of socialism must penetrate into the minds and hearts of the people. The building up of a society, which is econamically free, politically awakened, in which there is no exploitation of the weak by the strong, where there is equality of opportunity for all, where the fate of the country is not in the hands of the few, where every individual breathes the air of freedom, where the poor is not crushed under the mill of industrial capitalism, where the fruits of freedom are enjoyed by every Indian is the Everest of our hopes and aspiration.

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58. THE POPULATION PROBLEM IN INDIA

The population problem is one of the most confronting problems, which is craving and [illegible] Indian politic [illegible] ains of the trend of p[illegible] Rather, from being a [illegible] situation. This part of the world has witnessed a tremendous rise in population during the last two decades and if this advance of population is not properly controlled then it may give rise to some other obstinate evils. Asia is an overpopulated region and steps must be taken to counteract this monstrous increase in human numbers which, if went unchecked, is fraught with dangereus consequences India and other Asian countries are under-developed under-nourished and underfed. Hence, arises the necessity to reverse the population trend so that over population in these countries does not prove to be disastrous. The census statistics indicating the increase in human family is simply alarming.

No doubt, our country and especially the Health Ministry are doing their utmost to fight this new evil. There is need for planned parenthood. For this Government of India has done much through pamphlets, posters,

family planning exhibitions and also by opening family planning centres. The necessity of planned family is important in ways more than one.

Firstly the birth at short intervals undermines mother's health. In India the spacing of child-birth is very small, usually 1½ years. According to expert medicos, this gap should be between two and three years.

Secondly, there is a great wastage of human energy and resources due to injuries, illness, impairments, premature deaths, pre-natal and post-natal losses and permanent disability. Thus to conserve human resources is a matter of primary and fundamental importance.

The third point which is also advanced in favour of birth control is that lakhs of defectives, infirms and social inadequates produce children. So a population check—even by legislation—is necessary. This can be brought about by following a programme of segregation or sterilization.

There is going on an intensive propaganda in our country to curb the birth rate. Demographers and health experts are of the view that people should practise moral restraint or should use birth control appliances in order to impose quantitative restrictions. They also recommend the adoption of the programme of eugenics, both positive and negative. The population planning in India, no doubt, is proceeding on the above lines. There should also be regional distribution of population.

The use of contraceptives has provided one of the means of birth control but at the same time, for obvious reasons, people have developed an abhorrence to this method. Self-abnegation cannot be practised on a mass scale, so no sentimental objection should stand in the way of the adoption of ways and means for birth control.

Contraceptual methods, wherever practised, especially in Scandinavian countries, have yielded prolific results. Apart from raising the living standards of the people, it has also led to the increase in average life span and to

the reduction of mortality rate. It has also improved the health and vitality of the people. But still the best methods to control the population, besides the modern eugenics, are the spread of education and mass employment. In an enlightened, intellectual and educated society lesser is the number of children. As the birth rate is less, the lower the fertility, higher the vigour and virility of the people.

In our country while we are progressing economically, we are also finding it difficult to procure the basic necessities of life. This is paradox of modern times. While some increase is made in national income, more mouths come to be fed by that time. Economic progress and birth-rate are increasing at a tremendous speed. To overcome the increase in population, it is exhorted that mass education be given to the multitudes [illegible]

[illegible] regards family planning. In the First Five-Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 65 lakhs was provided for the purpose of family planning. The Second Plan had a provision of Rs. 5 crores for the same purpose. Much head way has been made in this department. People have become accustomed to think in terms of family planning. They want the establishment of 'small family pattern'. But still the rural population for one reason or another has not followed strictly on this line. The appliances are not available at cheap rates. To ure them properly and hygienically is also required, of which rural population is mostly ignorant. The use of family planning methods require privacy which is hardly available in our country.

The dissemination of knowledge and guidance in the use of these methods at every hospital, health centre,

maternity centre and family planning centre is of primary importance. A vigorous drive should be launched by the Government in which compulsory education including the dietary rules and nutritional standards, child welfare, prevention of diseases and the use of medical facilities, should be imparted to the people.

The national population policy should be so pruned and perfected as to include the following points ,—

(*a*) Government should set up family planning clinics in rural areas to the extent possible.

(*b*) A vigorous campaign to educate the masses in this regard should be launched in order to apprise them of the benefits flowing from population control.

(*c*) Training programmes should be undertaken in medical institutions and other teaching centres.

(*d*) Better health cum-sanitation measures for controling the death rate should also be provided especially in rural areas. Better medical and health facilities should also be given to the people.

(*e*) Local voluntary leadership should also be utilized while carrying out the campaign of family planning.

From the conditions prevailing in our country, a high rate of pupulation growth is bound to affect adversely the rate of economic advance and per capita living standards. Demographically, India is a country pressurised without any parallel leaving aside China. An effective curb on the growth of population is a great and vital condition in order to improve the living standards of the people as well as the levels of their incomes. When the First Plan ended, there was a backlog of urban unemployment, as high as 2.5 million. The gigantic size of population and its potential for further growth in relation to the limited resources make it imperative that we think in terms of population control. The Planning Commission despite

allocating huge funds for family planning has not proved so effective in giving resistance to population. Rs. 50 crores were allocated in the Third Plan for this purpose and the clinics increased to 8200. But this allocation is miserably inadequate to meet the needs of 480 millions. Let there be a vigorous and integrated drive in the Fourth Plan to propagate and practise "Controlled fertility". A small family is of more status and stature in every field than a large one. The future of India lies in observing strictly the rules of family planning otherwise the population explosion will doom our national progress.

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54. THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF PROHIBITION

The idea of prohibition was an offshoot of Gandhiji's mind and to give it a practical shape, this item was incorporated into the programme of Gandhiji and efforts were made since then to abolish the use of intoxicating drinks and drugs. For Gandhiji, there was more moral *than material in it. Even now it is one of the most* important items in the political plank of the Congress, no matter how far it has been put into practical shape. The [illegible] bition have shown [illegible] n administratively, [illegible] losses are made in revenue.

It cannot be argued by anyone that alcohol is an *indispensable daily necessity.* It is a harmful drink. Alcohol is an enemy of free movements. It debilitates the addict's will-power, deteriorates his sense of responsibility and also makes him blind and insensate to his and his family's best interests. The emphasis on Prohibition has been made legal and constitutional as Article 47 of the Directive Principles of the State Policy incorporated in the Constitution s ates : "the State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health

as among its primary duties and, in particular, the state shall endeavour to bring about the prohibition of the consumption, except for medicinal purposes, of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health."

The Congress hierarchy is committed to prohibition as early as 1921, when Gandhiji with his magic influence launched vigorously a campaign against the use of stimulating drinks and drugs. Even the Congress declared in its resolution that "Intoxicating drinks and drugs shall be totally prohibited except for medicinal purposes." The Non-Co-operation Movement had in its programme the prohibition of liquor and opium.

Congress, throughout, has been treading on the policy of prohibition. In 1937, Congress formed its Ministries in some provinces. It introduced prohibition in selected areas and later extended it over the whole country. The whole organization of Congress undertook a vigorous and intensive drive against the use of alcoholic drinks and drugs. With the World War II, Congress Ministries resigned and these efforts were slackened, the Indian Government lifted the ban on prohibition and raised revenue from liquor licences.

But with the independence of the country, Congress again revived its policy of prohibition. To do this effectively, the Planning Commission appointed in 1954 the Prohibition Enquiry Committee, to review the experience gained and to find solutions for the difficulties that cropped up as a result of prohibition in India. For this the Committee recommended the appointment of an 'Administrator of Prohibition' in every State. Further programme was also chalked out in order to enforce the recommendations strictly.

Some people, mostly the protagonists of prohibition, say that prohibition is an outrage on their rights and liberties. This policy encroaches upon their fundamental rights. But these people are in the wrong. Right is not above society or country. That right is good which

benefits the society and the country. A right should not be detrimental to the country as a whole. Drinking is socially undesirable and is detrimental to the body as a whole. Experts on liquor say that drinking often leads to mental, physical, moral and material ruin of the drunkard. Self-ruination is as bad as allowing a person to gamble or steal.

Let it be kept in mind that prohibition is not an encroachment on one's liberty, or curtailment of one's fundamental rights or abridgement of his freedom. To dispel such dismal doubts we cannot help better quoting Mahatma Gandhi: "The State does not cater for the vices of its people. We do not provide facilities for thieves to indulge in their propensity for thieving. I hold drink to be more damnable than thieving or perhaps even prostitution. Is it not often the parent of both? I ask you to join the country in abolishing the liquor shops. If I were appointed a dictator for one hour for all India, the first thing I would do would be to close down without compensation all the liquor shops."

The introduction of prohibition will cause the loss of an important source of revenue but the question arises, does this loss cannot be compensated through other means? It is better not to earn revenue which is made at the cost of economic and moral detriment and debasement of innumerable unfortunate individuals. Prohibition is bound to come. We must explore fields fresh and pastures new in order to make up the losses in revenue on account of enforcing prohibition. A social evil cannot be [illegible] other intoxicat- [illegible] y accelerate the process of mental and moral debasement. It will help to increase savings and capital formation. Thus prohibition, from the economic point of view, is justifiable.

One important by-product which will come out of the enforcement of prohibition is unemployment. Thousands, who are employed in this trade, will be thrown out. To answer this, the case of Bombay Government can be

oted. When prohibition was enforced in Bombay, the mbay Government handled the problem tactfully. oout 15,000 people were rendered without any employment. A scheme was chalked out for their rehabilitation, hereby various facilities were given to settle them in griculture, industries, and the services.

Prohibition is most befitting in a tropical country like India. Drinking goes contrary to the social customs and conventions of our society. Our greatest men have denounced it in unequivocal terms. Drinking has spelt untold and inexplicable economic ruin to men, especially labouring classes. If the labouring classes resort to prohibition, this will not only increase their yield in fields and factories but it will also help them in saving the amount and utilizing it for better purposes like raising the standard of living, better living accommodation, better clothing, better education and better entertainment for his family. By ridding the labourer of the curse of alcohol, the labourer will be brought to a better realisation of his rights, duties, and responsibilities, both in the domestic and occupational fields. In a Welfare State, prohibition causes economic elevation and moral and mental advancement.

To bring about prohibition on a nation-wide scale, a resolution was tabled in the Lok Sabha in March, 1956. A number of recommendations were made during the Second Plan period, but progress of prohibition was slow. The Second Five-Year Plan also recommended setting up of a Central Committee to revive the progress of prohibition, to co-ordinate activities in different States as well as to keep in touch with their practical problems. To check inter-state smuggling steps were undertaken during th Third Plan.

The demand has been growing to lift prohibitio since the Chinese aggression. Mysore's Chief Minist suggested that prohibition should be reviewed on an A India basis and State by State. This led to U.P.'s drama decision that prohibition should be nation-wide and r ...wide

During the Jaipur jamboorie of All India Congress Committee held in 1966, there was much heat generated during the discussion on prohibition. There was a severe clash between the protagonists of prohibition and its opponents. The prohibitionists were getting increasingly bellicose. Some visionary administrators in some States relaxed prohibition due to tightened financial position. Some prohibitionists were annoyed and infuriated over this.

To end this confusing state, Justice Tekchand was called upon to enquire into the evils of drink and report the whole matter in regard to drinking. His report came to limelight which exposed the horrors of alcohol to blatant lengths.

But which strikes most from prohibitionists is that it is a creed of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhiji made it an article of faith for Congressmen. Let it be remembered that the India of Gandhi's dreams was much more than this mere talk on prohibition. Most people have adopted the process of slogan-mongering round the totems of Gandhiji. They say what they do not practise. For most politicians prohibition is a taboo, a tenet of purism. But what an irony of fate it is that a politician is so schizophrenic in preaching one thing and practicing the opposite.

The best thing that will bring about prohibition perfectly is not law but a strong public opinion against drinking. A hearty hate of drinking will do more than all these laws put together. The enforcement of prohibition should find its echo in the heart. One must be convinced about the evil effects of alcoholism. Drinking cannot be suppressed by law. The abhorence to drinking must spring from the heart of men.

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55. PATRIOTISM

"Swim or sink, live or die, survive or perish with my country was my unalterable determination" is a pithy jotting by John Adams, which, to a large extent, is the very core of patriotism, the very inwardness of this term, the very intrinsic instinct that is patriotism. Patriotism is a kind of love which one attributes to or places in his country. To a patriot, country comes first, everything next. To a patriot, country is the biggest entity and everything is subservient to the country. Patriotism is an intellectual, emotional and sentimental involvement into the affairs of the country and anything which defames or denigrates or jeopardises the honour of the country is to be looked down upon by a patriot with derision and contempt, with hate and sneer.

The very touchstone of the patriotic fervour and patriotic feeling is tested during the times of external aggression or internal subversion caused by the coterie of quislings and fifth-columnists, who under one pretext or the other go on masquerading as the ardent admirers and stout pillars of the country. The fervour of patriotism is found in the civilized and the barbarian, the savage and the brute, the dacoit and the thief. There are times when each and every man of a country rushes forward to safeguard the frontiers of his motherland. During war, the patriotic passions are at their summit but it is not essential that it is only war which keeps the flame of patriotism alive. Even during peace, we can be patriotic in many ways.

Patriotism can be channelised into various forms but one thing must be kept in view that this patriotism does not take a destructive and harmful trend. Let there be no place for ugly emotionalism or coarse sentimentalism or frenzied fanaticism, in the hieracby of patriotism. Patriotism in a creed pure and simple.

Patriotism includes longing and yearning for one's home and its surroundings. It is a fact that a person develops a sort of attachment and affection with a place

where he lives. If he is taken to a foreign land, his mind will be at his own native land or place of his long stay. All the objects of the foreign country [illegible] beings and proves the old saying: "East or West, home is the best." This love for some environments and surroundings is but natural.

But still the desire to fight and die in the defence of the motherland is an irresistible one in a true patriot. A patriot's heart will never ponder at a time, when the frontiers of his fatherland are threatened by the alien invaders and aggressors. It is his supreme hope and desire to defeat the treacherous and insidious enemy. The mighty spectacle shown by India and Indians during the Indo-Pakistan confrontation of September, 1965, is a clear proof of people's patriotism. The whole country rose like one man in that hour of national peril and calamity. People gave their whole-hearted support to the [illegible] of our leading political leader- [illegible] voice in the [illegible] prowess, gallantry and chivalry by the entire Indian people is stolid and stout. Germans faced the Allies during the Second World War in a most befitting and heroic manner. Every German child was a symbol of unbounded energy and profound patriotism History is pregnant with the pride of the profound patriots. Scotland's history eulogises the soul-stirring saga of patriotic feelings symbolized by Bruce and Wallace. The history of England places on record the gallant deeds of Pitt, Nelson and Churchill, who brought their country out of the morbid morass and sordid scourge of wars and made it victorious. French history is studded with the amazing deeds of Napoleon Bonaparte and Joan of Arc, the story of which is a study in patriotism. The noble idealism which inspired Garibaldi and Mazzini, the Italian heores, was that of patriotism. What Rana Pratap and Shivaji is to India, Washington is to America. The memory of this cluster

of patriots is bound to perpetuate ad infinitum. By their worthy deeds and heroic performances and patriotic sense, they have taken extraordinary and eternal places in the pages of history.

The glow of patriotism can be shown in innumerable other ways. Anyone, who works devotedly and dedicatedly for the cause of his motherland, for his country's progress, prosperity and peace, is a patriot in the highest sense. Politicians, sociologists and social reformers, scientists, seers and savants, statesmen and religious divines who spend their energies in uplifting their country, advancing its society and reforming the whole social, political and economic structures, are patriots in no less way. They have undergone all the privations and hardships. troubles, trials, tribulations and tragedies at the hand of the powers that be The flaming revolutionaries like Vir Savarkar, Lala Hardyal, Subhas Chandra Bose and Bhagat Singh are the most illuminating and dazzling examples of our time. They were treated by the British Government in the most beastly and barbarous manner. But before them to achieve independence was the highest and the noblest of ideals and for them life was nothing as compared to this great objective. They, as a matter of fact were the pied-pipers of Indian patriotism.

"Patriotism", says Hardyal, "must decay under a system which discourages the study of our national past. British educational system alienates the cultured classes from the common people, diminishing their reverence and love for great heroes like Rama Krishna and Guru Gobind Singh and curbs their political aspirations...... woe to those who lose their birthright of learning about the condition of their country and honour the great men of another nation for a mess of pottage in the shape of a licence at the bar or a Government diploma or graduation! Th y sacrifice the end for the means. They lose substance and run after shadow. They démoralise themselves and each other to do violence to their conscience. Thus the British educational system promotes servility, cowardice and social decay."

Hardayal, the mouthpiece of Indian patriotism, has to say further, when he asserts and emphasizes, "A life of fraud and falsehood can never build up character. The strain, which the artificial method of teaching through the medium of English put on our energies, undermines our political stamina and exhausts our vitality even before we enter on the struggle of life.

"Patriotism and spirituality, the two great character making forces, are absent from this 'educational' system. ......The Hindu character is ruined. The springs of national moral life are poisoned......

"The British educational saystem is the parent of two great evils—denationalisation and demoralisation. It weakens the Hindu nation."

Such are the high-sounding and exalting words uttered by the firebra [illegible] in follow-ing a course, [illegible] eschew the [illegible] right or wro [illegible] led Adolf Hitler to practise aggressive nationalism which ultimately brought a disaster for him. This false sense of patriotism brought the horrible and tremendous annihila tion of Japan and Italy In their desperate bid to subdue and overpower the weaker nations, they lost their own nationhood. A patriotism which strives to elevate the country at the cost of other countries, is a perverted patriotism. Patriotism must not be divorced from moral consideration. Psycho patriots try to serve their own sel-fish ends under the garb of patriotism. These quislings and fellow-travellers are most dangerous This shoddy mentality does not ruin the doers but also proves ruinous for the country.

In this age of enlightenment and education, scientific advancement and universal outlook, fanatic patriotism has no room to prosper and thrive. Everything is tested on the hard core of reason and ratiocenation A patriotism which provokes the youngers and misleads them has become effete and obsolete. Patriotism which is practised

and prevalent in modern time pays all the due regards to the integrity and territorial sovereignty of other nations. Belligerent patriotism is a thing of the past. Now is the need to inculcate a right spirit of intelligent and enlightened patriotism. People are bound to be honest, duty bound and responsible in this type of order. Let us recollect Edith Cavell who says, "I realise that patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred toward any one.' But the best course which can lead us to follow true patriotism is found in the sententious saying of Thomas Paine, which goes like this: "The world is my country, all mankind are my brethren, and to do good is my religion."

Patriotism is no invitation to the cultural, moral, intellectual and philanthropic attitudes in life and living.

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56. FUTURE OF ENGLISH IN INDIA

Independent India has had a great deal of discussion about the continuance of English language. Eminent philologists and expert linguists, erudite scholars, and educationalists, top-ranking politicians and the administrators of our country have expressed their respective views on this subject. Some think that a foreign language if allowed to run and administer the affairs of a free country, is derogatory to national interest.

It is a fact, notwithstanding, that English is one of the imperative languages of the world. Knowledge of English is imperative for the acquisition of modern language, for having an intercourse with other nations of the world, for the study of the modern literary trends, nay, for acquiring a first-hand knowledge in sciences engineering and technology. English is important because of its recognition at international level. Even more, English had been and has been the dominant language during British regime in India. The roots of English language in India have really gone very deep. Macaulay's educational system

proved to be an efficient instrument in the growth and spread of English in our country. It was a clever diplomacy of British rulers to install their own language in every colony of their vast empire. So in India, English is the language of the legislature, judiciary, culture, administration Even more it is the medium of instruction in our University education

But ours is now a free nation. In a country, it looks not merely awakward and absurd to have a foreign language for conducting the affairs of the nation but it is also derogatory to national interest If other countries of the world can do away with English language, certainly we too can. Under the prevailing circumstances English continues to be the official language for one reason or the other.

But there is not least denying the fact, that if we really want to make India a single indivisible, homogeneous and well-united unit then it is a paramount necessity to have Hindi as the official national language of our country. It is a language spoken by nearly half of our country's population That is the reason, it has been accepted as the lingua franca of our country,

The language controversy in our country has been mounting and all the more confounding with the reel of time. The formation of States on linguistic basis has proved a nuisance to the country as a whole Since then, people with sectarian and parochial outlook have openly come out to demand a state or suba on linguistic basis The latest unprecedented incident of violence and mob fury witnessed in the cities of Punjab soon after the Central Working Committee gave its decision, "... out of the existing state of Punjab a state with Punjabi as official language be formed " The Working Committee decision has opened a hornet's nest a pandora's box Consequently, there have been demands for other more states to be formed on the basis of language Urdustan, Jatistan, separate Vidarabha, Harijanstan etc are some of the cries which are heard in the boiling political atmosphere of India. To end this fuming furore over language issue,

the powers that be come out to quell such fissiparous tendencies in the body politic of our country. These sinister movements of secession masquerading as efforts and endeavours to develop languages, regional or provincial, are fraught with dangerous consequences. The political consolidation brought about by Sardar Patel, "the Bismark of India", by integrating about 600 odd princely states with the India Union must be maintained. Let there be no yielding to the secessionist moves of the linguistic fanatics. The unity of the country is the be-all and end-all of Indian life.

The Gauhati session of the Indian National Congress held in January, 1958, veered round the language problem and in a resolution observed : "................In particular, the use of English will be necessary for the higher scientific and technical purposes. In regard to technical and scientific terms every effort should be made to develop similar terms in all the languages and to approximate them to international terminology. As stated in the Constitution, the official lauguage for all-India purposes will have to be Hindi, but the transition to Hindi for such purposes would necessarily be gradual."

The framers of our Constitution had a provision to use English language after the fixed period (Jan. 26, 1965). But the moment, the Government of India announced the implementation of Hindi and switch over to Hindi the non-Hindi-speaking people reacted violently and vehemently. The non-Hindi-speaking areas have some apprehensions if Hindi is made the official national language of the country. To allay these fears, legitimate or otherwise, Government has again extended the period of English for another ten years, so that non-Hindi-speaking people should learn Hindi by that time.

But what pains most is that some misled elements in our country are pleading the cause of English language in such a way, that if their English propaganda campaign continued that might prove a blow to Indian unity. However, nationalist India can have no sympathy with

these flotsams and jetsams of British imperialism, with these stooges and psychophants *who only want to ride on* the bandwagon of English language. English language *is hardly spoken by 2% of the people in India.*

T[illegible] scientific and technical knowledge [illegible] and their research and business in [illegible] *ing* [illegible] tific [illegible] So [illegible]

A very many number of Vice Chancellors of Indian Universities have reached the conclusions that without our own national official language. there cannot be the [illegible] Rather, this [illegible] the community [illegible] ail in English. [illegible] was purely from the national point of view Accoraing to Gandhiji, "English will have to go the way Englishman left."

He further asserted and emphasized: "If I had the powers of a despot, I would stop the tuition of boys and *girls through a foreign medium, and require,* all the teachers and professors, on the pain of dismissal, to introduce the change forthwith I would not wait for the preparation of text books They will *follow* change. It is an evil that needs a summary remedy"

It is in the best interests of the people and the nation to retard the pace of English language. English language can be a window for looking into the world scene *but it cannot become the language of* masses. And masses are not well informed of the national scene, our freedom

nd democracy have little meaning. We need a language of he masses and not of the classes. Then and then only can here be a proper political, social and economic equality. Evenmore, to have an Indian language, *i.e.*, Hindi as the official language and language of inter-state communication, will have a sobering effect on Indian unity and Indian nationalism.

This practice of adherence to national language was and is presently prevailing in almost all countries of the world. For example, taking out a historical fact, when Islam went to Persia, Persians did not change their language. They did not take to Arabic. They did not take to Arabic scripts, Arabic way of life, but stuck to their own. It is in this context that we should and must adhere to Hindi and Englishman's imposition of English language over Indians during the last about less than two centuries, was purely to inject Western ideas and Western way of life into the Indian people.

All the stout and sturdy patriotism in Indian history had disfavoured English language, not in the sense, that they hate it because of a language of Britishers, but because they thought that the very ideas and ideals of liberty and freedom cannot percolate and permeate the Indian masses through a foreign language. We should read as many languages, as we can, but first things must come first.

The flaming and dazzling revolutionary of Indian Independence movement, Lala Hardyal says, "The British 'educational' system is the parent of two great evils—denationalisation and demoralisation............"

With this parade of facts, it can be concluded, that future of English, in our country—a free country,—is bound to be dismal and bleak. English has no *raison d'etre* to be the official language of our country. It can be studied at the centres of higher research and learning that to by that time, Hindi is able to replace English in every fie

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57. THE KASHMIR QUESTION

To bring about an 'entente cordiale' between India and Pakistan, has been a consummate desire of Indian political hegemony Pakistan was carved out of India just on the religious basis. Soon after the partition of the country, the then leadership of Pakistan ordered its regular army into Jammu and Kashmir with the sole purpose of annexing this territory from India The marauding hordes of Pakistan army mounted mercilessly on the soil of Jammu and Kashmir, which according to a broadcast to the nation made by the President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan on September 25, 1965 explained, "the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India is legally, constitutionally, politically and ethically complete and just".

But in spite of this, the rulers and leaders of Pakistan are crying for a 'jehad' on Kashmir. In these nineteen years of independence Pakistan has aggressed nakedly, blatantly, beastly and brutally twice the territory of Kashmir. It is sad to note that the history of Indo-Pak relations has been throughout that of honest, friendship goodwill and peace on the part of India, while of *downright blackmail, dishonesty, treachery and deceit on* the part of Pakistan. The rabid rantings of an idle mind in the person of Pakistan Foreign Minister Bhutto have earned for him an approbrium of third-rate politician and diplomat from the whole world.

To grab Kashmir has been and is the first and foremost duty of Pak rulers. It is in this wishful thinking that Pakistan mounted her massive military invasion in Chhamb sector in Jammu district. This brazen act of aggression by Pakistan was firmly and bravely resisted by India Though the Article 3 of J and K Constitution declares that, "the state of Jammu and Kashmir is and shall be an integral part of the Union of India"

Giving a brief masonic of Jammu and Kashmir history, this state under British regime was an Indian state ruled by Dogra Maharaja Hari Singh whose forefather Raja

Gulab Singh, the then ruler of Jammu, only purchased Kashmir valley in 1846 from East India Company for Rs. 75 lakhs. Since then the ruler of this state came to be recognised as the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. The Dogras ruled the valley for a century till 1947 when people's government was established here for the first time in history with Yuvraj Dr. Karan Singh, the last of the Dogras, as Sadr-i-Riyasat—now Governor.

Since the instrument of accession of J. and K. State was signed by Maharaja Hari Singh in favour of the Union of India, which is fully evident to the world, this State holds peculiar position under the constitution of India. Article 370 of the Constitution of India gives Jammu and Kashmir State a special status, though this article is purely "temporary and transitional". But the disgruntled and frustrated leadership of Pakistan has made Kashmir as the 'panacea' for all their internal and external 'ills'.

No doubt India presented her case on the floor of U. N. expatiating the brief of her case that (*a*) Kashmir acceded to India legally and India accepted it also legally in accordance with the provisions of the British Parliament Act of Transfer ; (*b*) Pakistan is an invader and aggressor ; (*c*) Security Council has failed to take any action to remedy India's complaint ; (*d*) India is a secular state and not a parochial one and hence cannot allow—cannot afford – a plebiscite on religious grounds. It will jeopardise India's security. A plebiscite on religious grounds will have disastrous effect on them. India cannot risk another bloodbath like the one which followed the partition of India on religious basis. Religious issues were injected in Indian politics not by Indians but by the U. K. in the form of Morley Minto Reforms which introduced communal representation in the Indian Legislative Bodies, (*e*) If Kashmir is willing for a plebiscite on political and economic grounds and not on religious ground, then all the foreign influences are entirely withdrawn, Indian Parliament and Kashmir Assembly then may be persuaded to sanction such a solution. Until then it is India's moral and legal obligation to provide Kash-

mir as well as other Indian States adequate security and protection. Nor is Pakistan a democracy.

India's democracy and secularism are no match to the theocratic, religious State having a dictatorial form of Government. India's case went unheeded in UNO, in 1954, when there was a debate on Kashmir. All the countries who were politically and militarily allied to Pakistan, voted for Pakistan without considering any merits of the case It is a distressing spectacle of UNO to see it engulfed in cold-war politics. In a prosaically, historical view, the point of interest for us is to marvel at the obstinacy and obduracy of the Western misunderstanding of the Kashmir issue—it is a predominantly Muslim populated area and it is contiguous to Pakistan; therefore it should form a part of Pakistan That it is also contiguous to India and that its Muslim population had taken no part in the demand for Pakistan, that indeed it fought for the opposite objective of freedom along with rest of Indians have never been honestly recognised. Even if for argument sake, they were not for *India, the inferential preference for Pakistan has not* only been proved but rebutted in the most convincing fashion. For it is on record that the Pak adventurers *mounted a series of terrorist movements to coerce* Kashmir to merge in Pakistan while playing up the bogus claim of self determination for them which they themselves *had not put forward.*

To make the Western nations understand the enormity of their stand on Kashmir, a few paral el illustrations might be presented *for their consideration. Some nations* harp for self-determination for Kashmiris.

Self determination has no relevance where a nation's territorial integrity is involved. *If the principle of* self-determination had been followed by Abrahm Lincoln in respect of the Southern American States during the Civil War there would have been *no U.S.A. to-day.* Are the Chinese, who claim to support self determination for the people of Kashmir, prepared to extend that principle to the *people of Tibet or Sinkiang ?* Is Pakistan,

the greatest protagonist of self-determination, prepared to extend it to the gallant Pathans, struggling for Pakhtoonistan? Or, are they prepared to concede self determination, or even autonomy, to the people of East Pakistan. As a matter of fact, "the right to self-determination is not merely illogical, illegal and irrelevant but also ultra vires of the Indian Independence Act and June 3, Plan", as is stated by Prof. Balraj Madhok in his fact-packed revealing book entitled 'Kashmir, the Centre of New Alignments'. There is a school of thought which is of the opinion that Kashmir is the cause of Indo-Pak tension. But Prof. Balraj Madhok again asserts: "Kashmir is not the cause of Indo-Pak tension, it is the result of it. This tension is very much basic and inherent in the genesis of Pakistan"

As regards the special status of Jammu and Kashmir within the Indian Union a question may crop up in any one's mind regarding the special constitutional position of this State Their question is answered by Mr M. P. Sharma in his book 'The Government of Indian Republic,' in which he states that only for historical reasons the State has been accorded a special position in certain matters, otherwise the constitutional status of the State as an integral part of India is finally and irrevocably settled.

All along these years, the leadership of Pakistan has been vociferating for mediation, arbitration or direct negotiation over Kashmir but all these steps have been ruled out by India because they involve the sovereignty of India. Moreover, men like Jaya Prakash Narayan have also said that Pakistan has no locus standi in Kashmir; if it comes, it comes as an aggressor. Pakistan's perfidious pact with Peking and her later attack on Kashmir prior to her launching a full-fledged attack, have further made the prospects of settlement of so-called Kashmir dispute remote. The 23-day open armed conflict between India and Pakistan in Sept. '65, resulting in loss to both countries, has not yet opened the eyes of Pak rulers to the realities of the situation. With the intervention of U.N., a

cease-fire was agreed to by both on September 23, 1965. Within three hours after Mr. Bhutto conveyed his Government's acceptance of the ceas- fire, albiet accompanied by the ultimatum to the U. N., there came the dastardly bombing of Amritsar city by Pak planes, and since then there have been hundreds of major Pakistani violations of cease fire line Then came the Tashkent Conference with the intervention of U.S.S.R. But after the disengagement was completed, Pakistan has again launched her virulent and vehement campaign of vilification, calumny and slander against India over Kashmir. The first Ministerial Conference held at Rawalpindi on March 1 and 2, 1966, ended in fiasco, because Pakistan was adamant in discussing Kashmir first and anything after Later on Mr Swaran Singh's statement that Pakistan is no in a mood to come to grips with India has exposed the mala fide intentions of Pakistan whose vision to bring Jammu and Kashmir State under star and crescent must be given an everlasting quietus. Pindi's latest postures show that she is again in a mood to throw away the scabbard for solving Kashmir dispute.

As is evident from the latest trends Pakistan's obstinacy to grab Kashmir is there Russia's consistent support to India has been a commendable performance. While the latest posture of America by not mentioning Kashmir in the joint communique issued in Washington during Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi's recent visit to U S.A., in April 1966, is a welcome step.

But it is the paramount need of time to expound the historical perspective of Jammu and Kashmir to the world. The world is ignorant about the relations, geographical, political, social; racial, cultural, ethical and economic, which Kashmir has with India. "But the history of Kashmir is unhappily not so well known as it deserves to be It has been blacked out because it furnishes mute but eloquent evidence in favour of its belonging to India, far more than to any predatory power which gives it the Juda's kiss and stabs it in the back, loots its homes out of love, bombs them out of pure benevolence and would

wish to dragon them in the name of democracy and self-determination', says P. Mahadevan, a leading author and educationist.

Let India be firm and vigilant on her stand on Kashmir. Kashmir's inclusion in India is a touchstone of our democracy and secularism. Any Western suggestion of 'internationalisation' or 'condominium' over Kashmir must be rebutted and rejected. Kashmir's accession to India is full, final and irrevocable. Any negotiation on Kashmir is tantamount to the arbitration of our sovereignty.

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58. CHINESE AGGRESSION

The whole world in general, and India in particular, heard to their shock and surprise, a full fledged, massive military invasion of India by China, on Oct. 20, 1962. In spite of India's sincere and persistent efforts to settle the Indo-China border dispute through peaceful negotiations, the Chinese are incessantly and ceaselessly following a policy of blatant and brutal aggression to grab and gobble the sacred soil of India. China's vile charges against India of "aggravating tension" and "creating incidents of bloodshed" were not merely a display of their absurd diplomacy and expansionist designs but it was the most apt example of the pot calling the kettle black. China, as a matter of fact, is an aggressor, since July 17, 1954, when Chinese army crossed into Bara Hooti in U.P. State of India and established her military camps there. This was the violent infringement of the principles of Panchshila to which China was the first signatory. Mr. Chou En-lai, in a joint communique issued between India and China on June 28, 1954, "expressed confidence in the friendship between India and China which would help the cause of world peace... ." Hardly had the ink on this document dried, when the Chinese infidels penetrated into Indian territory. These incursions and intrusions led to the large-scale military attack by China on India in Oct. 1962.

The history of Indo-Chinese relations of the past sixteen years is a strange chronology of deceit and hypocrisy, perfidy and treachery on the part of China and a desire to maintain friendly relations at all cost on the part of India. India was one of the first countries to extend official recognition to the People's Republic of China, which was proclaimed Republic on Oct. 1, 1949 India was in the comity of nations and this move of India to admit China in U.N.O. is still on despite our strained relations. But in return of this, China has been indulging in a campaign of vilification and vituperation, calumny and slander against India and has even gone to the extent of kindling the torch of war. China is villain of the piece and a criminal by having committed one of the most heinous deeds in human history.

Though Sinologists and renowned historians are of the opinion that China has been aggressor through the course of time, Dr. C. Majumdar, a leading historian of India, is correct when he aptly remarks : "There is, however, one aspect of Chinese culture that is little known outside the circle of professional historians. It is the aggressive imperialism that characterized the politics of China throughout the course of her history, at least during the part of it ; which is well known to us.. .... We are in a position to follow the imperial and aggressive policy of China from the 3rd century B. C. to the present day – a period of more than twenty-two hundred years." But the learned author does not stop here but says further: "Whoever sat on the throne of China, whether the Chinese proper or Mongols or Manchus, the imperialistic spirit remained the same."

A country whose cannibals made a rape of Tibet and invaded Korea in the early fifties exposed her wicked venomous designs Missionary like Vivekananda prognosticated it as early as 1898 : "If and when British leave India, there is every possibility of China's invading
ned the country against
With the recognition of
the frontiers of China.

began to touch directly the borders of India. The accepted border line between India and China was McMahon line, though Chinese leaders went on questioning the validity of McMahon Line. In a mad frenzy of expansionism, the Chinese mandarins invaded and aggressed NEFA and Ladakh, the Indian territories. Severe fighting between the forces of China and India continued though afterwards China, after grabbing Indian territory, made a unilateral declaration of cease-fire, to which India also heeded. This aggression of China is still staying over India. Since then, a state of emergency has been declared in our country.

The Chinese aggression is a part of their planned programme. Mao Tse-tung writes in his autobiography that Tibet is the palm, while Ladakh, Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal and NEFA are five fingers of China. U. K has taken the territory of Nepal, U S A. has captured Formosa, while a tiny and insignificant country like Portugal has taken Macao. These territories were the dependencies of China. When they will become a powerful nation, she will recover these bygone territories."

Thus the programme of Chinese extra-territorialism is a systematic plot to encircle almost whole of the South-East Asia. China wants to conquer the whole world by use of force. So it has become a potent threat to the security and stability of the world. What matters most is that China is a country having a totalitarian government. China cannot see the flowering of democracy and freedom around her. India is a country wedded to the ideals of secularism and democracy. Ours is a fight for ideals against China. The dictatorial trends of Chinese leadership must be curbed. China wants the hegemony of South-East Asia. India is the only formidable obstruction in the way of her sinister and insidious programmes.

though bogus, to withdraw from a checkpost on or near Sikkim-Tibet border as well as charged India maliciously of having stolen her yawks and sheep. The Chinese ultimatum, to normalise the things within three days, *was received with great shock and dismay.* This ultimatum again meant to browbeat and bludgeon India and give Pak some relief in her armed conflict with India. But our brave and courageous late Premier Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri accepted the Chinese challenge, in a spirit of bravado and declared to face China. Though nothing untoward happened as China withdrew her ultimatum but since then there has been going on a collusion between China and Pakistan. The visit of Chinese President Liu and Foreign Minister Chen Yi to Pakistan in the end of March, 1966, and the display of Chinese T-59 tanks and MiG 19s by Pakistan, has made situation all the more serious. It is a maligned and malevolent alliance. Pakistan is already smarting under the defeat given by India. But if China indulges and sides with Pak and starts open hostilities, then to curb this naked aggression is not only the duty of India but of all the free world. The aggressors will have to be driven back. [illegible] costs even if it meant in the words of Pt. Nehru, "to be reduced to dust and ashes before we are held guilty of bringing dishonour to our country."

The present policy of aggressive imperialism of Communist China is puzzling the top statesmen and politicians of the world. There is dire need to contain China at the moment. She has already become an atomic expert and, because of this, is terrorizing the weaker nations. Let Asia, Africa and Europe realize the gravity of the situation and give an everlasting quietus to the villainous regime of China before it is too late.

59. THE STUDY OF POETRY

Boswell : "Then, Sir, what is Poetry ?"

Johnson : "Why, Sir, it is easy, much easier to say what it is not. We all know what light is ; but it is not easy to tell what it is !"

Poetry, indeed, is difficult to define precisely and exactly. Poetry means different things to different people. To Wordsworth, "Poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings. It takes its origin from the emotions recollected in tranquillity " He says further that "poetry is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge." Matthew Arnold defines it as "criticism of life, under the conditions fixed for such criticism by the laws of poetic truth and poetic beauty." Macaulay calls it "the art of doing by means of colours." To Hazlitt, "poetry is the language of imagination and passions." Ruskin terms it as "the suggestion by the imagination of noble grounds for the noble emotions." While Shelley delights in observing poetry as "the very image of life expressed in its eternal truth", "the expression of the imagination", Coleridge takes it as "best words in best order." To St. Augustine, "poetry is the Devil's wine " Though once, when he was asked to define poetry, he replied, "if not asked, I knew. if asked, I know not." Congreve, the Restoration comedian, speaks about poetry as "the eldest sister of all arts and parent of most". Carlyle, in his 'Heroes and Hero-Worship', says "poetry, therefore, we will call Musical Thought". Gilfillan opines that "Poetry is truth dwelling in beauty." But poetry is the regulating idea of all arts. With these varied and vast definitions of poetry, it is difficult to determine the degree of precision and exactness as regards poetry. However, it can be felt, realized, understood, enjoyed. To study poetry is an act lofty and sublime. To a lover of literature, poetry gives him all the charm and fascination. A poet sees and interprets life subjectively through the corridors of his own imagination and feelings. A scientist, on the contrary, observes life objectively, minutely, realistically

and then derives the inferences and generalisations. A poet, like a king or dreamer, can float in the world of imagination, emotion and sentiment, while a scientist dwells on the ground and sees life as it is, analyses life through his microscopic eyes. There lies his greatness, the superiority of the poet. A poet has the licence to write anything, utter anything while a scientist is always *guided by the intellectual reasoning.*

Broadly speaking, poetry can be divided into two main kinds—subjective and objective. The former corresponds to the elucidation of the very person of the poet, his habits, feelings, intuitions and sentiments. He finds and revels in the realm of his own thoughts. But if he takes an *objective view of things of mise-en-scene,* and keeps himself out of the writing, and co mixes and co mingles into the thought stream of other person's ideas and feelings, without reflecting his individuality, poetry is said to be objective or impersonal poetry In the subjec*tive verificatio ι, the principal forms of poetry* are (1) Lyric (2) Reflective (3) Ode (4) Elegy and (5) Sonnet. Elegy expresses mourning sense of direct bereavement or sorrow Sonnet is a 14 line poem contain- … patriotic or any other. … s' and their theme of meditative nature than emotional Lyrics are songs of war, patriotism, love, politics etc. The objective *poetry has its principal forms* as 1. The Epic 2. The Ballad 3 The Narrative poetry, 4. Metrical Romance and 5. The Dramatic poetry

Narrative poetry comprises ballads, epics Ballads are dance songs speaking eloquently of love, youth etc. Epics are the longer narratives in verse. In Dramatic poetry, *poet conce ls himself behind his characters and his* characters become his mouthpiece.

Let it not be forgotten that the chief purpose should be the enjoyment of poetry as poetry for its own sake, as a thing of beauty fraught with infinite meanings for those who have the capacity to feel and the heart to understand. It is the duty of the preacher, of a moralist to

guide and instruct while a poet delights in delighting and inspiring. Simple, sensuous and passionate poetry appeals widely and universally, while a poetry which indulges in the process of cold intellectualism, in didacticism and in sheer moralism affords but minor pleasure and profit.

English poetry is divided into two literary streams of Romanticism and Classicism. The Romantic poet revolves around the elements which appeal to heart like passion, emotion, sentiment, nature, supernaturalism, restraint, fantasy, beauty, strangeness and wonder. Romanticism is a highly sythesized kind of imagination. Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats and Byron form the coterie of romantics in English poetry. Their poetry is steeped in the depiction of nature mediaevalism, mystery, romance, chivalry and supernaturalism. While the classical school of poetry delves in the faculties of head and heart guided by intellect and understanding. Theirs is the poetry of the commonsense, of good sense, of enlightened taste, which feeds on the artificialities and affectations of life. Reason is the cornerstone of classical poetry while emotion is the essential ingredient of romantic poetry. Melancholy is one of the most important characteristics of romanticism. Wit, humour and reason pervade the classical poetry, the poetry of Pope and Dryden. We find in the works of Pope, a mechanical correctness of form and conventionality of thought.

Every kind of poetry has its own characteristics and peculiarities. But it is essential to understand the underlying meaning of the poet. "In our reading of poetry we should always remember that the poet appeals directly to the poet in ourselves, and that our real enjoyment of poetry, therefore, depends upon our own keenness of imaginative apprehension and emotional response."

Poetry has the three essential ingredients as emotion, imagination and delicate art like music. The emotion and imagination is the summum bonum of poetry while reason is the sum and substance of prose. This last means, that imagination makes poetry an irrational expression, like

the ranting of a mad man. Rather, the distinction between the two lies in the pr dominance of the one or the other. In poetry, sentiment and the imagination are predominant while in prose reason has a freeplay.

The study of poetry, ipso facto, is an ennobling, exalting and elevating experience. The poet is a man of his moods. A poem is the translation of the mood and temperament of a poet. Coleridge's 'Kubla Khan' was a dream poem, while Wordworth's poetic expressions are the outbursts and outpourings of emotional strains recollected in tranquility. Nature has a dominating impact and influence upon Wordsworth, which finds its eloquent and pithy expression when he asserts and emphasizes :

> One impulse from vernal wood
> May teach you more of a man ,
> Of moral evil and of good ,
> Than all the sages can.

Nature to Wordsworth was everything She was a mother, a healer, a consoler, a teacher, above all moralising to the great bard of England His entire poetry delves in the abode of nature. Nature to him is the very sign and symbol of God. He has found in nature :

> The anchor of my purest thoughts the nurse,
> The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul
> of all my moral being.

Coleridge's 'Kubla Khan' is the purest example of romantic poetry, a trump of supernaturalism Its very aura and atmosphere grips the mind of the reader and transports him into a world of magic and enchantment as is found in the line

> 'By woman wailing for her demon-lover'.

Again, the poet brings to mind the prophetic note of tradition and war, when he quibbles :

> 'And, mid the tumult Kubla heard from far
> Ancestral voices prophesying war.

To a lover of literature, the study of poetry is an ennobling passion, an exalting adventure, nay, a profound experience. Because a poet is a visionary, prophetic and imaginative angel who delineates sometimes the inwardness of human nature and human actions. T. S. Eliot's 'The Waste Land' is study in a inter-war years period. 'The Waste Land' epitomises the vagaries and trails of war as were found in the desultory and desolate atmosphere of post World War I. 'The Waste Land' is a classic on *modernism* on the subject of waste and futility of war. To read war poets like Rupert Brooke, Siegfried Sassoon, Wilfred Owen and W. W. Gibson, one is transported to the battlefronts and finds an elaborate depiction of the war-drama. Rupert Brooke takes a glorious view of war and speaks of its heroics while Sassoon and Owen do not cast any romantic veil over the horrors of war.

The fact remains that in these pages it is difficult to describe the entire panorama of poetry ranging from the Chaucerian era down to modern times. There have been noticed innumerable trends in modern poetry. A diligent study of poetry of a particular age reflects the very mores and manners, the customs and conventions, the religions and relics of the age. Poetry mirrors the ages of the prevalent society. The dominant thought streams find their best expression in the metres of the poets. Thus the study of poetry is important in ways more than one.

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60. INDIAN FILMS

In the present-day world, films have become the most popular means of entertainment. amusement and instruction as well. In the sphere of art, *cinema* is one of the greatest inventions. Cinema is not merely a unilateral art but combines the beauties, pleasures and excellences of various arts. Cinema can express all the ideas and ideals of a country, her mores and manners, her rituals and religions, her flora and fauna, and above all, films are the means for expressing the artistic talents of the individual.

The rollicking scenes, the musical currents, the rhythmic dances, 'the scholarly and witty dialogues give every spectator a food for the development of his mental faculties. Cinema gives the same satisfaction, as one gets from dancers and dramatists, songsters and sculptors, poets and poetasters, artists and architects, painters and puppeteers, musicians and magicians. Our mind is thrilled *and jubilated on seeing* a *film*, as we feel estatic and exhilarated on seeing a feat of rope dancer or on hearing the melodious tune of a snake charmer. Indeed, films provide to us immense pleasure with profit The origin, of Indian films dates back to 1920's when the pioneers of Parsi theatres were in the vanguard of this great movement of art. From the still and silent pictures of earlier times, Indian film industry has reached today the pinnacle of film industry and is ranked as the second biggest producer of films in the whole world. Our films today meet all the techniques and artistic elements of cinemascopy and cinematography Indian films not merely find huge audiences in their own country but they also attract large audience in foreign countries as well. Raj Kapoor's 'Awara', Shree 420 and his latest production 'Sangam' have been screened in all the major countries of the world and especially Russia, South East Asia and Middle East countries Raj Kapoor's humour and artistic technique, the depiction of the realities of modern life, have won for him applause and appreciation from the whole world. 'Jagte Raho' received the "Golden Bar" at the International film festival.

Indian films can be categorized into various shades and nuances There is a group of film producers who focus themselves in the depiction of India's ancient past, its cultural heritage, its mythological stories, great legends and bring to light the life and living of India's great savants and sages, her legendary and historical heroes. These pictures appeal not only to the Indian orthodox mind, but also to the foreign audience, who are delighted to see the scenes of strangeness and beauty, fantasy and exoticism, high flown imagination and romanticism, also they are terribly impressed to see the work of the cosme-

ticians and costume-designers of past India. Some films based on the wildness and vulgarity of sex produced on the pattern of Hollywood, have not found thronged audiences.

But the lofty ideological thought-stream, which has found its hay and sway in most of the Indian films, is the theme of social realism and realistic socialism The poverty, the mass ignorance of our teeming millions, the slum and the social disparity, have found their best expressions in some of the top films of India. Bimal Roy's pictures form a basic ground to show the socialism of Indian type. Bimal Roy's 'Do Bigha Zamin' is a masterly exposition of the soul-stirring and forlorn cry of an anguished and agonized individual crushed under the grinding mill of industrial capitalism. Most of his pictures revolve round the central theme of socialism vividly and realistically described by and expressed through his films.

The other schools of film producers cater to the likings of young boys and girls. A very many number of Indian films has for its theme a love triangle. All sorts of sentiments and emotions are involved in this jugglery of love. The result is that boys and girls, instead of learning something from the films as is also desired by the film producers, resort to and indulge in objectionable activities while the serious and the thoughtful mind develops an antipathy to and repugnance of such films.

The conventional and philistinic mind criticises such films But this mind fails to see the educative value of such films. To these die-hards to maintain the old and traditional image of India, is the *summum bonum* of their life. They forget that in this age of bewildering flux of ideas and tentative experimentation, there is much to depict and express than only to limit ourselves in the grove of orthodoxy and conventionalism, blind faith and fanaticism Their criticism of modern Indian films is marred by an illogical and irrational approach. Had they given constructive criticism about the so called defects and drawbacks in Indian films, their point would have certainly been considered by some producers.

It should be the primary duty of Indian film-makers to reflect the standards of decency, morality and cultured behaviour. Instead of catering to the values which are essential in life, these profit-making film producers have catered to the cheap type of propaganda, play and music. Such people are neither interested in upholding their artistic excellence nor in raising the intellectual and moral standards of Indian masses.

It is a melancholy fact that our film industry is not guided by some talented artists. Previously, it was in the hands of third-rate artists, uneducated people and to them the film career was a social taboo, a sort of employ- opportunit [illegible] by the [illegible] trums of I [illegible] fizzling. [illegible] by stride [illegible] born A lonely Satyajit Ray cannot vitalize it. He can win laurels at the international film festivals but only on individual merits.

A noted film historian has termed Indian films as "Russian Salad", "Omnibus films". His was not an act of neologism but of truth plain and simple. Indian films [illegible] of cinematic technique. Too many extravagances, loose themes, unnecessary prolongation, drama like disjunctions, [illegible] changes and are deaf to the [illegible] emotions. They are non-chalant by the [illegible] of contemporary thought and simply delight in [illegible] some events of which humanity has no [illegible] stifling: artificiality permeates most of the [illegible] nts.

more than vitality. In the splendour of cinematography they may be good films, but there is certainly lack of artistic finesse and aesthetic appeal.

Even the best of critics are unanimous in saying that a good film should have a universal appeal, and a good director is called upon not to demonstrate techniques, but to sort out the essential from the inessen'ial, the particular from the general, the unconventional from the conventional. But it is a sad commentary on Indian filmdom, that the essential is sacrificed at the altar of the inessential, the dramatic at the cost of the romantic and the realistic at that of the superficial. Moreover there is no dramatic unity, the unity of time ; the unity of action, the unity of thought is a must, if a film is to be a meritorious one. Some foreign films like "Guns of Navarone" and "The Great Escape" are shining examples of it in maintaining and observing the unity of action and unity of thought. If Sir Laurance Olivier has carried consciously "a torch of realism" in "Shakespeare", our directors too can. Truly speaking, a film is partly a vision, partly characterization and partly realism. But, alas, all the three striking features are notably absent from our films.

Techniques being common or easily available everywhere, it is the ideas and their befitting treatment which are creative and have their own reward. The other drawbacks from which our film industry is badly suffering is that, our films are without any conviction. Without conviction, there cannot be the creativity of mind, no exhaustive probe into the malaise of the society. In an art, where things are mecilessly thrown to the winds, it is reduced to mere mockery, a farce, a burlesque. The fire and fervour of an inventive and creative mind, rich with experience, bristling with anger, brimming with ideas, is certainly not there.

It is an ardent need to revitalize and remould our filmdom, on lines as are essential to the needs of the time. Mere commercialisation without creativity is disastrous. Art is vision. Art must serve a lofty mission—to create

beauty, to give joy and delight and in the end to instruct. Its vital function is to stimulate thought and appeal to the finer instincts of man, to edify, exalt and ennoble the spirit. Art becomes art only when it affects the people's souls, reason and character. Art is not merely the feast of eyes and ears. The production of shaggy, shoddy films is not only a slur on the nation, but to artists themselves. Filmcraft cannot be divorced from aesthetics. It is a signal service to give a serious thought to filmdom. Government's assistance to film industry is badly needed. We will have to pace with the new moving ideas of the world otherwise we will be nowhere. Indian film industry carries a heavy share of responsibility in the national reconstruction.

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61. INDIA IN WORLD SPORTS

Sports have a profound significance. Sports are pyramids on which is formed the character of the people. It is through sports that the power of self-control, discipline, principle and the strength of character springs. In a sportsman lies the country or a country is judged by her sportsmen. Their behaviour, decency and decorum, discipline, devotion and dedication, fair-play and civilized conduct are the indicators of a nation's greatness. Sportsmen can create friendly understanding and universal outlook. Sports help people and serve as a moralising force. A sportsman is just and honest in his dealings. He tries to feed the hungry, upkeep the poor and nurse the sick This spirit of sportsmanship is well inculcated in Indian people. Sports apart from teaching us all the norms of a civilized behaviour and international fellow-feeling, helps in the development of our mental and moral faculties A sound mind is always found in a sound body. So far a sound mind a sound physique is the *sine qua non.* Sports make us enduring, cheerful, strong, self reliant and impartial. Sports have a soothing effect on an agonized mind, and make us buoyant and pulsating. Sports teach us team-work.

Role of India in the world of sports has been in a state of fluctuation. Sometimes, Indian sportsmen won laurels in world sports, while at other moments, we have not fared well. To attain the heights in world sports is by no means an easy task. With India, still on the take-off stage in every field, we will have to endeavour hard to attain the highest heights in the firmament of world sports. Ours is an under-developed nation. The problems like a hydra-headed creature are haunting the custodians of the country. For popularising sports, we need huge funds. The paucity of funds has been to some extent a great hurdle in the popularisation of Indian sports.

Reviewing the records of Indian sportsmen in the horizon of world sports, it can be concluded that after ten years of India's regular participation in the International Olympic Games (I.O.G.) since 1920, and after spending some crores on training our athletes and players, through lengthy coaching camps, through month-long tours abroad and at home, and through the National Institute of Sports, all that India has achieved is a 4th place in 400 metres race in 1960 ; and a 5th place in 110 metres hurdles in 1964.

As Hockey has been a favourite game of India, we have done much better for special reasons. Here, too, though we were uninterrupted world champions from 1928 to 1958, we lost to Pakistan in the Asian Games of 1958, the Olympic Games of 1960, and in the Asian Games of 1962. In 1964, we however regained our supremacy.

In wrestling we have done fairly well, though we have yet to come in the first three.

In football we won the Asian Championship in 1962 despite heavy psychological odds. But our performance in the Olympic games has not been up to the mark.

While in swimming and gymnastics we have been among the last.

This is not a creditable result, all considered. Other countries like the USSR and new African ones, which

entered the Olympic Games only a dozen or less years back have shown creditable results. For example, Abyssinia entered for the first time in the 26 miles long Marathon race in 1960, took the first place that year in Rome, and replaced it in 1964 in Tokyo thus making a new world record both times.

That we have not reached the positions of stardom in the panorama of world sports is due to the fact that we have been following a faulty policy and are heading without any well-defined objective, which the nature of the case demands. We have concentrated only in the production of a few chosen, good athletes and players. We need to revise our sports policy, for only a right objective can lead to a right policy.

The only right National objective in a democracy can be general fitness of the people. And this fitness must not be merely on the physical plane, but on the mental and moral planes too This fitness must be sought for the largest numbers possible, for national strength and success of democratic way of life depend on the quality of the largest number of its people. Our supreme objective must be all round fitness, physical, mental and moral of the populace, for [illegible] distinction, but brings about na[illegible] development, in [illegible] continued success at Hockey till 1958, was due to the fact that we had many more youngsters playing the game than in our rival countries. But now the trend is reversed. Hockey is played in foreign countries with greater zest and enthusiasm, while our youngsters have been trapped by films, clubs and coffee houses.

Some arguments are advanced that it is because of financial hurdles and other crippling needs, that our sports pyramid is not properly progressing. Money, paucity of playgrounds are the main reasons in the un-growth of our sports. But if a well-defined programme is chalked out, we are sure that as regards players we can take from the school-stage. The fault lies more in the

lack of initiative and lack of will to work in the school authorities.

Apart from this, there is need to develop and inculcate sportsmanlike spirit and also to become sports-minded. Youngsters should be made to think that sports and study are the important factors in their life. So fostering play-mindedness is most essential.

Almost every school or college has its playground except in large cities. It becomes the duty of some teachers to act with initiative and enthusiasm and make hundreds participate in sports and other games. This process will make millions fit and play-minded. There is no need to wait for the optimum conditions to come. The most important thing is to lead the youngsters to play and to become sports-minded. This spirit must be imbibed from the early years in the youngsters.

Another hurdle which is often mentioned is the absence of expert coaching. It is true to a great extent. For this our teachers in thousands should be given training at some sports centres like the one National Sports Club of India (N.S.C.I) at New Delhi. Most of our teachers confine themselves in class rooms and take little interest in extra-curricular activities. If this is done, it will help a great deal in lessening indiscipline among students. However, for this extra time devoted by teachers, they should be given honorarium.

Some sports institutions adopt the practice of bribing good players to join them Such players assume the air of superiority and become contemptuous of school and college discipline and neglect their studies. They thus become mere gladiators unable to earn a living when their scholastic career ends. This practice must be stopped. It is harmful for players in the long run

To implement our national objective properly, there is need to have a broad-based central organization of sports. Presently, we have the All India Council of Sports, with its State Sports Councils, the Central Advisory

Board of Physical Education and the Centrally-conducted Physical Efficiency Tests. But all these help only on the physical side and that mostly of the youger section of the population.

From these labyrinthine details, it is clear that if India really wants to shine in the domain of world sports and achieve the top-most positions, it is necessary that a special impetus is given to sports Sports, apart from the fact, are means of recreation and pastime, provide the nation potential strength for national defence and [illegible]

[illegible]

the playground, we can infuse a spirit of patriotism and nationalism among the youngsters and their minds would be moulded in accordance with the instruction and advice given to them. A youngster's mind is malleable [illegible]

[illegible]



62. RURAL LIFE

Rural life is considered to be the ideal sort of life by all the seers and saints of India. It has its own charms and fascinations As compared with the humdrum and noisy life of the metropolis, rural life is quite calm and quiet, while its serenity and simplicity, its backwoods and bowers are highly elevating and exalting. It is the rural life, about which Wordsworth speaks so highly. Wordsworth's childhood period was spent in the *tranquil* valhalla of lakeside district, which he eulogises profoundly in his poems During his boyhood days, he enjoyed the blessed company of the shepherds and dalesmen, of the rustics and village greens, their manners and mores, customs and conventions found their eloquent and exalting expression in the poetic fervours of Wordsworth. The influence of these early surroundings was, as he afterwards said, "profound and lasting; for rough and rugged as

they were, these simple peasant folk were types of the homely virtues of manhood and womanhood untainted by contact with the corruptions of civilization and from his familiar intercourse with them he learned faith in humanity and reverence of the elemental things of life."

It is in rural surroundings and scenes that one enjoys the sight and spectacle of nature. The superb landscapes, the green harvests the cherry-checked belles of villages which are beau ideal, can only be seen and enjoyed in the rural vista. The village peasants, who are rough diamonds, work hard, till the lands. Agriculture is their main profession. Their life is free from all the turmoils and troubles of an urban life. The villagers are not touched by the unnecessary affectati-ns and artifices and artificialities of city life. Theirs is the life of bliss and solitude. The peasants' simple life is much better than the madding crowd's ignoble strife. Their simple dwellings and pure diet are quite in conformity with nature.

No doubt, in the rural areas, one does not find cinemas, libraries, clubs, and theatres. But the means of their amusement and recreation are cheaper and ennobling as smoking, gossiping and dancing. n their dealings, they are honest, in living simple, thinking high. Religion is their master-passion. They are the most superstitious lot. Majority of them is illiterate and ignorant. They are unswept and non-chalant with the cross currents of contemporary policies or revolutionary ideals Orthodoxy is their doxy while simplicity is the hallmark of their life and living.

The village peasants are in their most exquisite mood during the harvesting season. They are seen cutting, winnowing and separating corn from the chaff. The village belles clad in their multicoloured and multifarious dons, dance and sing to the accompaniment of the trumpet. Most of their time is spent in ploughing the land and sowing it, and reaping the plentiful harvest. But they are not only engrossed in their professional duties but

have ample of pastimes and pleasures which differ widely from the pastimes and pleasures enjoyed by the town people.

The early dawn scene is really marvellous in the rural areas. The bracing breeze, the tinkling of the bells tied to the necks of bulls, while on their way to the field, the sweet chirping of birds in the woodlands, the serene atmosphere, the golden disc of the rising sun, the village women going to fetch water from the wells with their pitchers on their heads, the melodious sound of the farmer singing some folk lore song or pastoral poem in his native dialect lend charm and beauty to the prevailing aura.

The ecstasies of village life are unique. We note Ascott's penning of a country life, when he avouched, "I consider it the best part of an education to have been born and brought up in the country."

That rural life is full of mirthfulness and contentment [illegible]

raising health standa ds. Sanitation can be introduced and setting up of small-scale industries can help a lot in avoiding the wastage of manual labour. By providing the farmer with the latest know-how in agriculture and giving him better seeds and other agricultural tools, he can increase his output, which would help the country a lot in solving the food problem.

Rural life, therefore, is full of pleasures. The nourishing diet of villages kept the people healthy and strong. One can enjoy nature in various moods. Cowper's conclusion that "The town is man's world, but this (country life) is of God", stands correct. Rural life is delightful in the sense it is clothed with the objects of nature. Nature's blissful mood, healing touch and soothing effect upon man's soul is immense God resides in the objects of nature So one is nearer to God's heart at a natural place. Thus, rural life has its own charms and exquisiteness.

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PEACEFUL USES OF ATOMIC POWER

mic energy, the most stupendous and marvellous ion and achievement of this era of enquiry and mentation, that is, twentieth century, has in one delighted the mankind because it not only promises isfy the needs of this energy-hungry civilization, but a challenge to eliminate and eradicate some of th t complex diseases by which people are badly afflicted ay. To harness atomic power for the peaceful pur-es of humanity is the concern of every scientist and manist This trend gained momentum after the orrendous holocaust of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the ppalling and atrocious use of Atom Bomb on these two owns of Japan and the untold and inexplicable devastation brought about by this barbarous bombing shocked the conscience of the whole world. Even Mahatma Gandhi had to say on seeing this sad spectacle of annihi-lation that "Atomic energy is the most diabolical use o science."

So, to use this nuclear energy for the uplift and advancement of humanity, is the essence of the modern thinking. There have been conferences and conventions, symposiums and seminars, on the peaceful uses of atomic power. The ever-increasing consumption of energy is confronting the whole mankind. How to overcome this difficulty in the near future was discussed at the Inter-national Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. Renowned economists gave their statistics as to how much energy is required by the whole world by the last quarter and the end of the twentieth century. Almost all the intelligent economists and statisticians were of the view that the present reserves of fuel like coal, oil, wood etc are likely to last up to 2300 years. Thus the responsibility to extract this nuclear power and to utilize it for th constructive purposes has been undertaken by U.N.O. an its sister bodies like the International Atomic Ener Agency (I.A.E.A.).

President Eisenhower was the first to put forward December 8,1953, a proposal at the United Nati

General Assembly for international co-operation to exploit nuclear power for peaceful purposes. Since then, people are thinking of applying the miracle-making energy to constructive purposes instead of to wasteful ones. Now this one time wishful thinking has become a tangible reality. Astounding results have already been recorded of the application of atomic energy in the fields of agriculture, industry, power production and medicine all over the world. The use of radioactive tracers in fertilizers has been the most successful application. Experiments were conducted in Indian Agriculture Research Institute for growing plants by atomic radiation. By subjecting seeds and plants to direct radiation as alpha-rays or gamma rays, it was demonstrated that more crops could be produced. There have been successful experiments for destroying harmful bacteria, which make food unfit for human consumption Over and above, atomic energy has been used to convert the arid and parched zones, sandy deserts and barren tracts, into oases and fertile lands.

In the sphere of health and hygiene, atomic energy has done wonders. Radioisotopes of iodine are helping doctors to locate the area of brain tumour, and the radioisotopes of phosphorus to measure the quantity of red blood corpuscles. While the use of radio-active cobalt in combating cancer, the hitherto considered incurable disease, is simply marvellous. Even in the field of industrial production, atomic energy is showing startling results. The use of atomic energy in connection with metal-making, mineral processing, machine design, glass making, textile manufacture, paper and plastic processing, wood treatment, petroleum production, drug and food processing, electrical equipment, rubber and cement manufacture, has not merely increased the production but also improved the quality.

Atomic energy is bringing the extraordinary revolutions in the modern times. It is bringing a steady transformation in the *modus operandi* of industrial civilization. Being many times more powerful than the steam or coke

or the recent electrical energy, the times are not far off when this nuclear fuel will replace electricity. In that atomic civilization, people will see the use of atomic energy in trains, aircrafts and ships. This energy, as is easy to carry in the remote parts of Himalayas than the coal, can be used in developing the difficult Himalayan terrains. Late Dr. Homi J. Bhabha, India's leading most atomic scientist and Chairman, Indian Atomic Energy Commission till death, once remarked, "I venture to predict that a method will be found for liberating fusion energy in a controlled measure within the next two decades. When that happens, the energy problems of the world will truly have been solved for ever. For, the fuel will be as plentiful as the heavy hydrogen in the ocean. Tremendous power has been concentrated in the hands of man which, used with discretion, will rebuild the world torn in strifes."

The practical utility of nuclear radiation and nuclear energy is manifold. The radiation can be used to retard meat spoilage, to keep vegetables from sprouting. While radiation thereby has saved many lives, Atom promises to affect much of man's life, to transform it completely. At the same time, the symptoms to bring about an elevation of social and economic plans are quite evident. Atom has proved a good source of energy to those areas of the world which are lacking in energy. Recently, a French nuclear strategist pointed out that the cost of nuclear weapons is less than conventional ones. So will be the cost of nuclear furnaces less than the conventional furnaces. Moreover, the status of a nation in modern times is gauged by the ability to use and utilize atomic energy for beneficial ends. A country which is not in the field of atomic power is stigmatized as a backward country.

In the province of atomic science, India is not lagging behind. India has also gatecrashed in the atomic age and has set up an Atomic Energy Commission for exploring the possibilities and systematizing the research works in this field. India's first atomic reactor went into operation

in 1956, at Trombay. India is blessed by having huge stores of radioactive elements like Radium, Thorium and Uranium on the coastal lands. There is a hope of humanity in atomic energy for solving the greatest problems India had the privilege to be the Chairman of 'Atoms For Peace' Conference, which was held at Geneva in 1955, to explore the ways and means of harnessing this new powerful atomic energy for the best of humanity. In Dr. Bhabha, India had not merely an ouststanding atomic energy expert, but also a visionary and symbol of India's atom-for peace prcgramme. India has already embarked upon this programme intensively, vigorously and has set up a number of medical and research centres like Indian Cancer Research Centre, Bombay, and the Chittaranjan Cancer Hospital, Calcutta. These centres have succeeded in studying new methods of diagnosing and treating certain types of cancer and leukemia. India has made great strides in the atomic energy programme and Dr. Bhabha was in the vanguard of this programme. Through the persistent efforts of Dr. Bhabha, India has been well placed on the atomic map of the world.

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64. MY FAVOURITE POET

(*Wordsworth*)

The study of Wordsworth is a fascinating one. He is a queer mixture of extroversion and introversion. Wordsworth is one of those English poets who have a large bulk of output to their credit His poetic creation on the astronomical scale is not surprising because it represents and reflects more than half a century of sweeping and waking moments. Though a great bard of England and a poet who spearheaded the movement of Romantic Revival, it is a fact, nevertheless, that in his poetic touch, there is no certainty. Sometimes, he soars on the wings of imagination and climbs the empyrean heights and sometimes he flounders along the moors with most exasperating shamble. But the weaker and insignificant poetic creations should not blind us and abandon

to his masterpiece, his lyrics and nature poems that are the rich specimens in the museum of English literature and are the objects of glory and pride in the English language.

Wordsworth's poetic career has been a splendid record. Wordsworth, really, translated prophetic words of his mother, when she said about him : 'He would be remarkable either for good or for evil.' Born in 1770 at Cockermouth, Cumberland, Wordsworth dazzled like a meteor on the firmament of English poetry. Being born and bred in the bosom of nature, in the arcadian surroundings and in the company of shepherds and dales-men, the influence of this milieu and mise en-scene, was profound and lasting on the mind of Wordsworth. That is why a major portion of his poetry is devoted to the elaboration and elucidation of his childhood period. The strain of melancholy and a nostalgic feeling of the past is the most essential ingredient in the poetry of Wordsworth. Wordsworth in his poetry reveals and reflects his age, its customs and conventions, its mores and manners. He was tremendously influenced by the powerful and breath-taking revolutionary movements of his time. The impact of French Revolution was very great on Wordsworth. Some knowledge of his relations with the revolutionary movement is an indispensable preliminary to the study of his works. These relations are described elaborately in his autobiographical poem, The Prelude. On his first visit to France in 1790, he was delighted to find 'benevolence and blessedness spread like a fragrance everywhere', and the realization of the human rights by the prevalent French Government and its efforts for the restoration of democratic ideals—of liberty, equality and fraternity—sent Wordsworth in a state of ecstasy and he quibbled :

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven".

But all his elated hopes and exalted idealism soon vanished into despair, when the glorious promises of the French Revolution of 1789, were destined to remain

unfulfilled, when he saw the rise and growth of ugly forces and malodorant evils like the excesses of the reign of terror, the sensational rise of Napoleonic Wars, the restoration of the Bourbons; the determined attempts made by the crowned heads of Europe after Waterloo to destroy democracy—all these events were naturally *productive of vast disturbances in thought and feeling.* That age of Wordsworth's craving of buoyancy and expectation passed away and the age of unrest and disillusion succeeded.

His publication of 'Lyrical Ballads' was an epoch-making landmark in the history of English literature. In this monumental work, Wordsworth's object was to 'propose to himself as his object to give the charm of novelty to the things of everyday'. The second edition *of the Lyrical Ballads expound his famous theory of poetic* diction and his views regarding the subject matter of poetry. The very quintessence of these publications was to present a formula of reaction from the practice of the 18th century poetry and it laid down that the poetry *ought to be written in the simplest language of the common* people and that the poetic essence consists wholly in fixing the result of an impassioned spiritual experience. The inwardness of Lyrical Ballads is clearly an aesthetic application of sentimental democracy. Wordsworth is concerned in this work with the psychology of poor people. He makes human soul as centre of art in his poetic sallies. On many occasions, he seems to be in search of truth than poetry. But still there a[illegible] motives, and elevating thoughts. The [illegible] poems, moralisings of a [illegible] guided by an edifying and utilitarian purpose. These [illegible] than the elegant [illegible]

His 'Prelude' is a study in personal tenderness, in the childhood days, an almost elegial proclivity to evoke the memories of *his* own childhood, make his soul-stirring

poetic works a most thrilling record of a soul towards the full possession of self. In it, the thought and form are in perfect harmony.

His 'Excursion' is an epic without action. It has a teaching of true and permanent value. On the whole it is a diffused description of scenery which the poet has elsewhere caught in brighter glimpses. It is also a diffused statement of hopes and beliefs which is crystallized more exquisitely elsewhere round moments of inspiring emotions.

The best poet in Wordsworth is found in his lyrical expressions. 'The Lucy Gray', 'Alice Fell' and 'Daffodils' etc., are his inspiring expressions on the subject of nature.

Wordsworth is primarily and predominantly called a poet of nature. His poetic raptures delve deep into the beauty of lushgreen meadows, woodlands, the mountains, the lakes, the sounding cataract. He interprets the natural beauty in spiritual terms. The development of thought in the flora and fauna of nature is transitional and its gradual growth from sensuousness to spirituality is evident as we pass from his early works to his later poetic creations.

In the first stage his love for nature was a healthy boy's love of the open air and freedom of the fields. He haunted the hills, dales, ravines for the sake of angling, swimming and hunting. It is in this sensuous passion, he quips :

"For the coarser pleasures of my boyish days
And their glad animal movement all gone by."

He roamed and ventured into the abode of nature and enjoyed all the sights, scenes and sounds of nature and in a thrilling moment writes :

"The sounding cataract
Haunted me like a passion ; the tall rock,
The mountain and deep and gloomy woods,
Their colours and their forms, were then to me
An appetite ; a feeling and a love."

But with the passing of time, his conception of nature turned from sensuous to spiritual and mystic. The mysticism is pervading in his later works. As he shows us in his 'The Lines Composed a few miles above Tintern Abbey', and the 'Ode on the Intimations of Immortality' —nature was for him an embodiment of the Divine Spirit, [illegible] is the greatest of [illegible] oler, the mother. [illegible] Nature to him is the living reflection of God, the very sign and symbol of God. With all these assertions, "he means that between the indwelling soul of the universe and the soul of man, which is akin to it, spiritual communion is possible through which we may gain constantly in power, peace, and happiness", says Hudson.

While Wordsworth is a poet of nature, he is no less a poet of man. The annals of the poor and the common people found their eloquent expression in the versification of Wordsworth. His 'Michael' is a proof of this. Common men, peasants and village greens, the depiction of the sounds, sights and scenes of nature form the very fabric of his poetry. His 'Tintern Abbey' is locus classicus and consecrated formulary of Wordsworthian Faith. His conception of God and nature is enshrined in this poetic piece which is a creation of the highest poetic order. The truth of an inner and deeper connection between Man and Nature dawned on him. He constantly began to hear happy lines in nature and was no longer ignorant about the

> "The still sad music of humanity,
> Nor harsh, nor grating, though of ample power,
> To chasten and subdue "

He began to feel the existence of an intellectual and moral life in nature. This faith of a moral life in nature is enshrined in his profound couplet :

> "And 'tis my faith that every flower
> Enjoys the air it breathes."

Wordsworth learns more from nature than anything else. According to the worthy bard of England, if anyone approaches nature in the right and with a sacred mind, leaving aside his 'meddling intellect' which 'misshapes the beauteous forms of things' and 'murders to dissect', he can extract the philosophical intellectualism and refined emotionalism. To consider Nature as a moralist, is an over-riding passion with Wordsworth and his deep faith in this doctrine is well evident, when he asserts :

"One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man
Of moral evil and of good
Than all the sages can."

Thus Wordsworth views nature from a different angle than his contemporaries like Keats, Coleridge, Byron and Shelley. To Wordsworth, man and nature are the two manifestations of the same reality. Keats and Tennyson were the pictorial painters of nature while Wordsworth was a spiritual exponent of nature. Wordsworth spiritualises nature, while Shelley intellectualises it. Wordsworth was a believer in the 'Vedantic' doctrine of 'Immanence' *i.e.*, God pervades in each and every object of nature.

On the whole, Wordsworth's love for the humble folks of humanity, as a poet of nature and common man, as an interpreter of the weals and woes of the humanity in general, as a writer of poetry which has common themes, as an exponent of the doctrine of transcendentalism, place him at the acme of English literature and is ranked only next to Shakespeare and Milton in the hierarchy of English literature.

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6[illegible]. MY FAVOURITE NOVELIST

(*Jane Austen*)

Jane Austen happened to live on the literary stage during the last quarter of eighteenth century and the first

quarter of nineteenth century. Miss Jane Austen was a highly sophisticated artist. In her novels, we find artistic excellences, literary grandeur and perfect reflection of her age. Her novels mirror the prevalent conventions and customs, the mores and manners, the art and literature of those times. In some aspects, she was the last and finest flower of that century at its quintessential. She was a direct literary descendent of Addison, Goldsmith and Miss Burney. She is often called as 'Fielding Feminized'. She was an unconscious revolutionary and lived a quiet and sheltered existence and was immune from the great movements of her times. The French Revolution, the Napoleonic wars swept by her without any comment. She got away the injection of sensibility and sentimentality, for her those qualities are only material for her satire. She is never angry with her characters but contempt for the silly and affected and stupid is constantly found in her novels.

She is an authoress of about half a dozen novels. One of the most important of her literary creations is Pride and Prejudice. Her philosophy is to delineate the life and living of a small group of people comprising three or four families. Her subject is always a young woman [illegible]

single man in possession of a good fortune must be in want of a wife." This dictum epitomises the entire story of 'Pride and Prejudice'. The heroine of this novel, Miss Elizabeth Bennette, is an intelligent and conscientious lady having sensible morality and moral sensibility. In this novel, the heroine has been shown not merely hunting for husband, but her mental and intell ctual thinking rebuts all the proud and arrogant heroes. She observes that there is a tinge of pride in the mind of Darcy, the hero of the novel. So she develops a prejudice against Darcy. The delineation of the heroine's character is dominating in this novel.

Marriage is an important theme in her novels. Because, marriage is perhaps the most important event of social significance in the lives of human beings. She deals with ingenuity and skill with all the marriage problems that arise in her writings. The cropping of misunderstanding and confusion is too much in her novels, which, though later on is dispelled and then the hero and heroine begin to understand each other. She satirizes some characters, but her satire is simply meant to laugh at the frailties and foibles of mankind. In 'Pride and Prejudice' Mr. Collins and Lady Katherine de Bourgh are figures of fun, monstrous puppets of silliness and snobbery, but they are elaborated and laughed at with something like affection. Mr. Norris in 'The Mansfield Park', and the Eltons in 'Emma' are exposed in a withering scorn, they are comic, but in a way quite different from other characters, and the dry scorn with which they are exposed is a moral. So Jane Austen was a moralist. Her satire is like a sunny rippling which falls on the judge and the thief with the same intensity. She is not serious in mocking upon humanity. Her novels, as a matter of fact, are social documents. Even the depiction of male characters like Mr. Edward Bertram of 'Mansfield Park' and Darcy of 'Pride and Prejudice', is in a highly Grandisonian way.

Her novels represent a 'Feminization of Fieldings'. Her fiction is as much steeped in irony, both in language and style and situations as his (Fielding's). She lays main emphasis in her works on manners, which she sees as morals in microcosm. She considers the errors and follies of youngmen as a result of faulty upbringing. As is evident from Pride and Prejudice, behind the wickedness of Cydia's elopement with Wickham, lies the foolishness of her mother and irresponsibility of her father.

Her novels are comic revelations. Comedy deals with conflict between illusion and reality. Her first literary creations reflect a conflict of an immature and between Literature and Life and in her later writings she exposes and dissects the follies and illusions of mankind. Elizabeth in 'Pride and Prejudice' is a heroine, as witty as charming.

She is an embodiment of wit and wisdom. Comedy, to Austen, is a vehicle of moral judgment. Dante defines comedy as, "a series of harsh complications having prosperous conclusion." In her novels we find the 'Comedy of Sex'. In this respect she occupies a place between Fielding and Meredith. Nothing is hidden from her. She is more an observant. She detests meanness and vulgarity. Her heroines for all their faults are always rational ladies and those who cannot be gay and comedy should at least be sensible, amiable and well-informed. Would-be blue-stockings are her pet aversions. The secret complexities of self love, the absurd vanities and quiverings of selfishness, the arrogance and obduracy of privileged people are reflected in her novels with certain irony.

'Emma' (1816) is an other novel by Jane Austen, whose heroine *Emma Wodehouse lacks Elizabethan* intelligence but her judgment is well shown when she rejects her lighthearted, objective, thoughtfree love pretender Churchill and marries a mellowed man who is wise, intelligent and sympathetic to her. Her 'Northanger Abbey' is a literary burlesque In 'Persuasion' (1818), satire and ridicule take a milder form. The tone is warmer and interest is evoked by a more subtle interplay of characters.

Her novels are social revelations, which depict the humdrum of life. In three or four families, she describes the whole world Her characters appear like living beings, something real and original. Her comments on almost all the subjects of her *treatment* are *illuminating* and interesting. Macaulay is neither the first nor the last distinguished commentator to compare Jane Austen to Shakespeare, and in this context, the parallel does not seem strange, when he says, "Shakespeare has had neither equal nor second But among the writers, who have approached nearest to the manners of the great master, we have no hesitation in placing Austen a w. man, of whom England is justly proud. She has given us a multitude of character common plays, all such as we meet every day. Yet they are all as perfectly discriminated

from each other as if they were the most eccentric of human beings." In Miss Bronte's view, Austen's material are the "surface of the lives of genteel people."

The chief characteristics like faithful observation, personal detachment and a fine sense of ironic comedy, are well blended into the works of Austen. Least affected by social miseries, she was in a measure sympathetic and tolerant towards the poor, without the faintest weakness for the aristocrat and well to-do. She least pretends to be a social reformer. She ridicules folly and excuses sin wherever she can She judges her characters by their opportunities in life.

Jane Austen is my favourite, in ways more than one. She is a novelist of much deeper emotions and sentiments than what she appears on the surface. The foibles, illusions and self-contradictions of human nature appear to her as most delightful ingredients. Her characters fall into the pitfalls of error from which they are rescued not by their own adroitness or ingenuity but by the kindness of fortune or Providence. This approach to characterisation makes Austen's art remarkable. Her characters are touched in a comic spirit. Elizabeth, Jane and Emma are cleverer than other heroines of fiction. Anne Eliot, in 'Persuasion' is temperamentally good. All these characters are creatures in flesh and blood Fanny Price in 'Mansfield Park', is drawn on a different scale. She has romantic sweetness which cannot be experienced through comedy. Fanny Price maintains an objectivity of outlook, and an impersonality. which is the hallmark of Shakespeare.

Her way of looking upon characters is that of ironical amusement, but she never looks upon her characters with a sense of antipathy and hatred. Says David Cecil : ' Her irony is the very substance of her style......".

With all this, her touch was so sure, her humour so subtle and sublime, her characterisation so life-like, that all competent critics regard her as one of the finest literary dilettante, English Fiction has ever produced. The social realism forms the very keynote of her novels.

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66. NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

It is difficult to define nationalism precisely and exactly. However, different people with different religions, races and languages, though living in one country, enjoying its political and economic atmosphere; ought to respect and defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty of that country. These people are expected as well to respect the national heroes of the country down the centuries. They are also expected to treat the country as a motherland. Suppose, there are some people, who are Indians not by birth but by domicile, nationalism demands that at the time of external aggression, internal subversion or during financial chaos, they must side with and support the nationalist government. They must do everything to protect and defend the frontiers of the country. True nationalism demands all these things.

The growth of nationalism goes back to 19th century. People of the world started thinking which made men to limit the boundaries of their ideological thought-streams and thus emerge as a nation. These thoughts, as a matter of fact, were motivated by the thought-provoking and epoch-making book entitled 'The Social Contract', written by French social Philosopher known as Jean Jacque Rousseu. There was an idea prevalent before the time of Rousseu which enunciated that Government was based either upon force or upon personal leadership, but Rousseu came out courageously to rebut this idea and avouched that so long as Government was based upon the will and consent of the people, no Government could function properly.

The rays of nationalism were emanated and spread from the French Revolution. A revolutionary movement was brewing in France during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, which when ripened, culminated into French Revolution in 1789. The whole country of France was surcharged with patriotic and nationalistic fervour and this strong wave of nationalism revolted against and uprooted the established corrupt monarchy. French

Revolution is an epoch-making change in European history. Upon this fertile ground of revolution, there originated and emerged the idea of nationalism in the political life of European history. So, this idea came to be recognised in the parlours of politics and people asserted that State is the only befitting expression and outpouring of national will. If we peruse the pages of European history of the 19th century, it is known, how this principle of nationalism was put into practice. Every nation in Europe, who was having her natural geographical boundaries, became a separate entity. This led to the people of the world to demand for the recognition of their nationalistic principles and thus to acquire a separate nationhood.

This type of thinking resulted in the outbreak of the First World War of 1914. The Germans, who were having a comprehensive background of nationalism, wanted to extend their frontiers out of sheer political aggrandizement and to bring the weaker and smaller nations under their subjection. This aggressive nationalism proved a bane for Germany as well as the rest of the world. Germans was the cry of fanatic patriotism and they adopted a bellicose nationalism which brought damnation, death and destruction to Germans as well as the rest of the countries who fought against the expansionism of Germany in order to defend the honour and sovereignty of their own countries. The Germans received a crushing defeat and peace was restored by the historic treaty of Versailles. The entire European continent was reshuffled and recast and the minorities were given the right to choose the government of their liking. So the self determination to minorities was a natural corollary of the principle of nationalism. Self determination was the outcome of the mind of Woodrow Wilson, the renowned statesman and political scientist of U.S.A. Just after the treaty of Versailles, the people of the world in general and leading-most statesmen, politicians and thinkers of the world in particular felt that the right of self determination instead of bringing stability and political equ librium in the world, has led to the aggravation of political stability because

people began to think in terms of their own separate existence and tried to aggrandise their political hunger at the cost of others. And again, there was world-wide conflagration in 1939, and how these nations flouted international pacts and threw to the winds all the scruples of humanity and international law, proved that the principle of self-determination was not merely a dubious principle but was also a disastrous conclusion. The cause of World War II, was again the Nazi Germany under its Fuehrer, Adolf Hitler, which sounded the trumpet of war and challenged the peace-living nations of the world. Hitler's aggressive nationalism was not only disastrous that shook the peace of the world, but also that the German fascists made a mass massacre of Jews in gas chambers and through other barbarous means.

All these ignoble happenings of two World Wars and mass exterminations of communities, compelled the custodians and guardians of international morality to devise a better formula other than self determination in order to bring about a social stability, a political balance between the nations of the world. The ideas of a World Order, i e., the installation of World Government, was put forth by the astute politicians, wise statesmen and great political commentators, so that people may forget their narrow national outlook and develop and acclimatize themselves in a life on international scale, transcending nationalism, forgetting the idea of separate and self-contained national entities. But this very talk of setting up a World Government is not merely Utopian and Don Quixotic in the present context of world politics, when there is emergence of many free countries, but also impracticable and dreamy. It is difficult to bring the entire world populace in one world order, until and unless the curse of ignorance and mass illiteracy is eclipsed from this planet. Internationalism is a good and attractive idea, but its crippling limitations are well known. To become an internationalist, there is need of shedding the narrow, parochial and sectarian loyalties and instead adhere to the universality of thought and brotherhood of ma

Although, we have seen a remarkable growth of internationalism in the post-World War II period. The afflictions of war like diseases, epidemics, destruction and deaths were haunting humanity. People thought to come out of their narrow grooves of nationalism and contribute something tangible in the reservoir of internationalism so that direct links may be developed with different countries. There was an exchange of goodwill missions, cultural delegations and scientific personnel between various countries The world recognized the importance of internationalism in so far as the sphere of science and culture is concerned. The economic debacle of one country becomes the concern of the other country. The food crisis in any country is helped by other countries. All these point to the fact that there has come a sort of cultural understanding in the province of culture, science and even economics, but politically this world is far away from this reality. International co-operation among nations is a must in the modern times because in this strifetorn and idea-ridden world which is dominated by the deadly war weaponry, any wrong step by any world power would unleash a trail of horror and terror, of doom and damnation over the head of humanity.

The creation of U.N.O. is the plausible step in translating the idea of internationalism into reality. This world body is a forum of about 129 countries of the world. All the disputes of national and international importance are discussed and settled on the floor of U.N. through peaceful means. U.N.O. has proved to be a good agency in fostering the spirit of internationalism. There is a school of political thought which opines that nationalism is the *sine qua non* of a nation's integrity and security and stability, while internationalism is also deemed necessary because it makes us learn to respect the sovereignty of other nations. Even best thinker and philosopher like Bertrand Russell has propounded in favour of world government to administer the affairs of all the nations of the world, which would avoid mutual bickerings and other trivial incidents between nations.

The cross fertilization of cultures and sciences is going on. This will perhaps necessitate the rapid inculcation of the spirit of internationalism in the political fields as well. This would not merely be the process of political self aggrandizement, but would also make the chances of war very bleak. The ideas of colonialism would also go into doldrums and then there would be the emergence of a spirit which would endeavour for the greatest good of the greatest number. The pernicious ideologies would crumble and people would call themselves as world citizens. That would be the most exalting ideal of the whole humanity which synchronises with H.G. Wells' dictum : "Our true nationality is mankind."

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67. DISCIPLINE IN LIFE

Life is incomplete and wayward if there is no discipline in it. Discipl ne is the process of acting and adhering, obeying and agreeing to a common code of conduct, to certain rules and regulations framed and meant for the guidance of human affairs in the different walks of life. Discipline is a systematic process of training, overt and covert, in accordance with a set of principles and laws decided by the totality of the society unanimously. There is discipline in everything. Every institution, every entity has some guidelines and to act according to that means to be disciplined in life. For example, Nature. There is discipline in Nature. Every object of nature is in strict adherence to the heavenly system. The universal law rules nature. The phenomenon of seasons, the movement of stars and celestial bodies, the occurrence of day and night, natural vegetation—are all based on some order. Had there been no discipline, there would have been chaos and confusion in nature. All this shows that the whole universe is governed by some order. As Pope says : "Order is Heaven's first Law."

Discipline is one of the most important ingredients of life. A life without discipline is just like a letter without address or a ship without its sails or an aeroplane ...ut

its pilot. Before we teach discipline to others, it is better and wise to be self-disciplined first To be self disciplined, one must know the inwardness of human nature and should be able to distinguish and judge the right and wrong cause. If the cause is right but the approach is wrong then the man is not disciplined. To practise discipline in life, there is need of self-knowledge Knowledge of outward things and knowledge of oneself are important points in this context. We live and fight for a principle. To keep principles alive means following the path of discipline If we approach a cause in a haphazard and unsystematic way, then the very pleasure of discipline vanishes Before we preach discipline and decorum to others, it is necessary to be self-disciplined. Because self-discipline implies desire for self-improvement, confess our mistakes and the resolute will to rectify the mistakes. Our fight should consist in upholding a noble cause Discipline is the systematic approach to every problem of life. We must shun prejudices and predilections and fight for the fine values of life.

For me the very object of education is to inculcate discipline among students. Merely teaching of the subjects is no education. Rather, one of the aims of education should be to train the most important values. It forms the very base on which the whole life of man stands. So the very standard of an educational institution is judged from the discipline which it provides to the students. If a student is guided properly, taught properly and trained in the higher values of life properly, his is then the ideal life and ideal institution. If the institutions become earning machines, then the very purpose of education becomes a burlesque, a farce. Discipline should be enforced in the schools and colleges. These are the training ground for students. The most formative period of their life lies in school or college Students are just like delicate twigs. As a twig is bent so the tree will grow. Similar is the case with students. This spirit of discipline will have to be imbibed in them. They are the very pillars of the nation, the very ray of hope for the nation.

Moreover "Schoolhouses are the republican line of the fortifications," as says Horace Mann It is, therefore, a thing of paramount importance to keep a vigilant eye on students The educational institutions are temples of learning and must have their fine forte, quoting Cicero, "what greater or better gift can we offer the republic than to teach and instruct our youth ?" Students' energies must be properly channelised because they are the wealth of the nation. They must be asked to refrain from the clutches of politicians who, simply to serve their own ulterior motives, provoke the students. Presently, there has crept, into the community of students, an obstinate evil of indiscipline. That is why there have been recently the violent demonstrations, strikes and stir in some of the Indian universities It is sad that students have become puppets in the hands of clever and crafty politicians and do something which degrades themselves and the society as a whole.

Discipline is strongest perhaps in the army. Soldiers are [illegible] will [illegible] the jaws of death. They do not stand for question and hesitation. Theirs is but to do and die. The illustrious example of Casablanca is a testimony of the faith in discipline, who on the order of his father was asked not to leave the deck of the burning ship even if the flames overpower him Discipline is the core and keynote of army. An ill disciplined regiment may bring horror and humiliation to the whole nation. A disciplined army wins laurels for the country by giving a defeat to the enemy. No demoralization is allowed in the army because if the army's morale is shattered, then there is disaster for the whole nation. They are taught team spirit, and asked to obey earnestly the orders of the commanders.

So is the necessity of discipline in sports. Defeat or victory does not count, what counts is their organised spirit. A player is required to be most disciplined and subordinate his interests to the larger interests of the team. Without discipline, sports are empty, devoid of any meaning.

Indiscipline in public life is mounting like anything. Mutual recriminations, intrigues, party squabbles and such manoeuvrings as to down others form a part of present public life. Dissensions and distresses, incoherent ideas and different views have reduced the public life to mockery and mimicry. For personal ends, one sacrifices everything, discipline, duty and manners. It is a dirty development which we are noticing today in the various party ranks. Ill-will, rancour and malice have crept into the minds of the people and are only busy to gain their power and privilege by hook or by crook, by fair means or foul. It is really a sad state of affairs. The endless series of groupings and other dissenting notes are bringing our life, political or social, on the path of perdition and ruin.

The canker of indiscipline has been injected into every branch of public and private life. This, indeed, is unfortunate. For serving one's own predilections and proclivities, one resorts to indiscipline and incongruous ways to achieve and fulfil his evil designs. This is the colossal lackness of mental and moral discipline Some are out to pave the way for an anarchy and confusion. They want revolution and unrest, bloody turmoils and tribulations to serve their own ends. This must be prevented and public should be strongly advocated to follow the path of discipline and duty.

Man must imbibe in him the spirit of discipline and save the august institutions from the revolutions and debacles. Formation of character in accordance with the right ethics of the country is the need of the times. The brutal and barbarous way should be replaced by humanitarian and regulated ones. To serve the interests of the nation is the object of fundamental importance. We should not do anything that may bring a nation in disrepute and dishonour. For this a regular and methodical mode of living is a must. Disobedience to the established canons of morality leads to insipid emulation, increased ignorance, retarded study, mental instability, moral turpi-

tude, sham pretensions and reckless ideas and ideals, which can only bring damnation and disrespect to the indivi uals as well as nations. A nation is judged by the standards of discipline and code of morality, which its people observe and practise.

A school of thought may be of the opinion that this [illegible] ut liber- [illegible] nd mali- [illegible] Liberty means the respect for rules and regulations. Bailey says: "It matters not how long we live, but how." A few moments of disciplined life are worth the whole life spent in an indisciplined and irregular way. Closing with Seneca's dictum: "As is a tale, so is life: not how long it is, how good it is, is what matters"

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68. THE IMPORTANCE OF SELF-RELIANCE

One of the most important lessons which our leadership has learnt from the events of the past few months has been the ever increasing faith in self reliance. To be self reliant in every sphere of human activity, like economy, agriculture, defence equipment, food etc. is the stark realisation of the past happenings. To stand on our own legs has been the outcome of the Indo-Pak inferment of Sept. 1965. How we were put into the whirlpool of problems and how the comic spectators acted is known to one and all. Gandhiji's inspiring message is soul-stirring and thought provoking when he said: "The first lesson we must learn is of self-reliance and self help. If we assimilate this lesson, we shall at once free ourselves from disastrous dependence upon foreign countries and ultimate bankruptcy."

Self-sufficiency almost in every field of life is a must for a self respecting nation. We achieved independence from the foreign thraldom about nineteen years ago. Independence opened before us a pandora's box of problems.

With our economy exploited for long by British regime, we had to make some adjustments so as the ship of the nation moves on. Dependence was somewhat natural. But our programme of development through five-year plans was meant to free this country from the economic strings of other foreign countries. We did achieve an astounding progress in this short span of three Plans. But even the crippling problems of rising prices, inflationary spirals, food problem and the shortage of the latest equipment in defence, engender in us a mood of pessimism, despair and depondency. This was further aggravated when, during the period of conflict, other countries refused to supply us the basic needs of our country. The attitude of the whole world was surprising. This created in us a psychology of self reliance. To depend on our own production was greatly felt by the leaders and the masses of our country. Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri gave a clarion call to the nation to be self-reliant.

There is not least denying the fact that for self-sufficiency at the national level topmost endeavours should be made to achieve a degree of self-sufficiency, consistent and compatible with our sovereignty, self-respect, and the national power so as to thwart any foreign subjection or aggression. The slogan, at this time, apart from other slogans should be national honour. Anyone who casts his covetous eyes on the sacred soil of India, must be given a befitting reply.

Now we shall count the major departments where we shall have to attain self-sufficiency and thus be self-reliant. First of all take the case of agriculture. Agriculture is the very base of our country's economy. Though our planners have given greatest attention in this respect but still India is facing a difficulty in agricultural self-sufficiency. The food crisis in our country is staying. No doubt, there is as well a gradual growth in population but ways and means should be devised so as we should not depend upon foreign assistance and aid as regards food grains.

The second dominant factor, in which we should be self reliant and self-sufficient, is that of industry. In this

[illegible] ngs the breath- [illegible] and material [illegible] d help in the defence and development of a nation. The wastage of human energy must be prevented. The use of manual labour can bring about a great advancement and accent in the field of national economy. So, industrially, we should also be self reliant.

The production of defence equipment and on a scale as would meet the national needs during any untoward event, is also of great importance. How India felt the need of military hardware and spare parts to replenish our military equipment, only compels us to erect a sound base of production in defence. We must possess all such paraphernalia of defence. It is gratifying to note that our future planning will be defence oriented. Production must be increased in every sector.

An emphasis should also be laid on the youths of India to eschew the habits of dependence. Because among Indian youths and adults one sees everywhere distinct traces of dependency pattern which definitely thwarts the autonomy formation and attainment of self sufficiency.

Apart from Government, masses are also expected to act boldly on this issue of self reliance. Let there be a commitment on the part of all the people to be self-reliant. It is not merely enough for the elites and the leaders to have commitments towards the programme of self-sufficiency and self reliance. Merely crying from the housetops for self reliance won't do. What needed is to engross vigrously and to work in a way which accentuates the process of national regeneration and economic independence.

The other factor to be taken note of is that we should [illegible]

reliance. Innovation should be encouraged. The emphasis on deferred gratification and not on immediate gratification should be laid. We should forgo immediate consumption in favour of future prosperity.

Efforts must be made to create and foster a psychology of self reliance. Self-reliance is the leading slogan of modern India. What remains to be seen is to translate it into reality. We can only reach our destination if we become hard-working, and cease to involve ourselves in fissiparous tendencies and sectarian feuds. The whole nation will have to be geared to work for the achievement of this ideal. It is a realization of the modern times. National interest is supreme and everything else comes next. Let there be no fading of this feeling of self reliance. The ability and statesmanship of our late lamented Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri displayed during the agonising days of the outbreak of hostilities between India and Pakistan is unforgettable. His emphasis on self-reliance was a profound realisation and was one of the outcomes of the Indo Pak conflict. We should emerge out stronger. As the ancient proverb goes : "A nation is strongest when it fights alone." Thus this new trend of thought must be fulfilled which is the very pinnacle of our hopes and aspirations. Sir W. Temple would have it, "A man that only translates, shall never be a poet; nor a painter that only copies; nor a swimmer, that swims always with bladders; so people that trust wholly to others' charity and without industry of their own, will always be poor."

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69 'PEACE HATH HER VICTORIES NO LESS RENOWNED THAN WAR'

(*Milton*)

Peace and war are two terms which have been popular, right from primitive, and medieval ages down to the modern times. Because the entire cycle of human progress and historical progress is interspersed with wars. We

hear of the wars of Ramayana and Mahabharata and the wars of Jehed and Odyssey. It has been the work of poets and prose writers to sing eulogies to the glories won in wars. Man is a fighting animal. The fignting instinct is something inherent in man There have been wars between nations, groups and tribes In war the victory of one is the defeat of the other and vice versa. The war of Rama with Ravana is considered as the victory of virtue over vice. So we have this mosaic of history studded with bloody and devastating wars. Wars like examinations are also necessary evils. Bernhards, in his thought-provoking book entitled "Germany and the Next War" states, "The inevitableness, the idealism, and the blessings of war, as an indispensable and stimulating law of development, must be repeatedly emphasized."

The first half of the 20th century has witnessed the ghastly spectacle of two World Wars fought on a scale unprecedented in the recent times. The Second World War erupted between the Allied Powers and Axis Powers. There was barbarous bombing, merciless massacre, enormous devastation and destruction of life and property. The victory kissed the feet of Allies. There were great rejoicings, jubilations and celebrations on an enormous scale, while the camp of Axis Powers was giving a dark, dreary, dismal and frightening picture and were plunged in sorrows, sufferings and sighs ever experienced by them Their war proved to be an exercise in death and destruction. Hitler's aggressive postures brought damnation and despondency upon the Fuehrer and the Germans. The war brought in its train a sordid scourge, a morbid morass of mass deaths, diseases and epidemics and a colossal loss of property. For Germany and other Axis Powers who licked the defeat, war proved to be a science of destruction. The appalling fate of the inhabitants of Hiroshima and Nagasaki who were victimised by brutal bombing in August, 1945, shocked and stunned the conscience of entire humanity. While the Allied Powers were exulting over the slain men, the victims of war were cursing the mind which engulfed and plunged them into war. The horrid and atrocious tragedy

made the world look aghast. The poets and writers were writing verses on war. These writers left behind them a great volume of poetry, mirroring their sentiments and reactions to the great catastrophe. Rupert Brook took a glorious view of war and speaks of its heroics, and not its brutalities and ghastliness. Seigfried Sassoon, a soldier poet, does not throw any romantic veil over the horrors of war, which he depicts "as a dirty mess of blood and decaying bodies" and the "hell where youth and laughter go". Wilfred Owen, who died fighting in 1918, also had no illusions about war, as is clear from an unfinished preface to his poems :

"This book is not concerned with poetry
The subject of it is War, and the pity of War,
The Poetry is in Pity."

T S. Eliot's 'The Waste Land' and 'Hollow Men' are classics on the subject of waste and futility of war. The best echo of the post-World War I period of disillusionment and bitterness is enshrined and heard in T.S. Eliot's 'The Waste Land'. It is an epitome of the stagnant and timid temper of the period which followed the World War I cataclysm. Martin Luther, a great religious reformer, speaks on war : "War is the greatest plague that can afflict humanity ; it destroys religion, it destroys families. Any scourge is preferable to it." There was also a spate of films which showed popular rejoicings and national celebrations of the great event.

The songs of war have found their eloquent expression in Epic poetry. The victories of Rana Partap, Shiva Ji and Alexander the Great are not merely recorded in the golden letters but are symbols of bravery and chivalry for their respective countries Sir Winston Churchill's place is unique in the British history because he brought his country victorious in the World War II. Homer's Iliad and Odyssey are right epical eulogies highlighting the gallantry and heroism of Greeks.

But let it not be forgotten that only war is sung and praised. Peace time has its own glaring characteristics.

It is during peace time that a nation progresses in science, industry, technology, art and literature. The dissemination of knowledge, wisdom, justice are associated with peace. Only during peace, there can be social progress, thoughtful contemplation and spiritual enlightenment as well as efforts to combat the disease, ignorance, illiteracy as social evils. The flowering of human genius is at its apex during peace time. Philosophers and philanthropists, dancers and dramatists, songsters and sculptors, artists and architects, astrologers and astronomers, poets and prose-writers, religious divines and social reformers can contribute their maximum only in peace time. To move from war to peace is to move from barbarism to civilization, from destruction to construction, from want to plenty. Perusing the entire panorama of world history, we come to the conclusion that humanity has made stupendous progress only in peace time. The Elizabethan age of seventeenth century is termed as an age of progress in business and commerce, advancement in culture and civilization in England. The England of 19th century has undergone a longest ever period of peace and tranquillity, which has witnessed the epoch-making changes in sciences and civilization. How scientists have conquered and harnessed the unconquerable forces of nature are but miracle of peace time. Scientists' contribution for the good of humanity is so great that even greatest victories in war cannot bring that happier and fuller living.

Thus the achievements of peace are more glaring than those of war. They have an everlasting effect and the posterity gains through them. The war produces commanders and brave heroes, who no doubt stand as inspiring symbols of gallantry and heroism for the generations to come but heroes of peace who are poets, artists and scientists are more useful and valuable in the sense that they belong to entire humanity. While the victories of war are enjoyed by only the concerned nations the inventions and discoveries in peace time become universal. Medicine, surgery, arts and literature belong to and benefit whole humanity. The victories of peace are cherished by all and enjoyed by all. The entire scientific

progress which has changed the face of entire mankind is all because of peace. Science has removed to a great degree, diseases, epidemics, reduced deaths, increased life span, provided all the comforts and facilities to humanity, which are impossible in a state of war. As the great British Economist Mr. Keynes said : "In war, we move from an age of plenty to an age of scarcity", is really true.

Asoka the Great is the national emblem of our Government. It is because he fought for peace and spread it. The achievements of peace have indelible marks on the aeons of time. An age of peace ushers in an era of prosperity and plentifulness in every field of human activity. "Peace", says Cotton, "is the evening star of the soul, virtue is its sun, and the two are never far apart."

So, the pithy saying of Milton, *i.e.*, "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war", is as true, as great, as prophetic as anything to-day.

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70. FOURTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Ever since India achieved her independence, she has formulated a pattern of planning which is guided and advised by the Planning Commission. The planning in our country has been conducted through Five-Year Plans. We have gone through a period of three Plans. The Third Plan ended on March 31, 1966. The Fourth Plan began on April 1,1966. Rather each forthcoming plan is a continuation of the preceding plan.

Planning is the process of harnessing the resources of the country in an organised and systematized way. The concentration of the human resources and to channelize this human energy for harnessing the resources, natural and others, for the greatest good of the country, for raising the standard of living of the people, is the very quintessence of Indian planning. Planning involves the over-all

development of the country, providing the people with opportunities for a richer and varied life and *to remove* as well economic inequality, reduce disparities in income, wealth and opportunities. The First Plan aimed at increasing production but having the long-term objective of securing for all members of community full employment, education, security against sickness and other disabilities. The top emphasis was laid upon agriculture, because agriculture is the predominant vocation in India Indian *peasantry forms the largest group of our population i.e.* about 85%. It was felt by the planners and topmost economists that an agricultural revolution can transform the very face of Indian society. However, apart from agriculture, there was waste land reclamation. The *Community Development programme for the uplift of* villagers and an ambitious irrigation and power programme for industrial development was also launched The growth of cottage industries and better transport were also the objectives of the First Plan.

The [illegible] of the First Plan showed that there was an increase [illegible] cultural [illegible] up by 38%.

The great projects like Bhakra Nangal, Hirakud, Damodar Valley Project, Tungabhadra and Chambal increased the irrigational facilities while the factories like Chittaranjan Locomotive Works the Sindri Fertilizer [illegible] Integral Coach [illegible] and strengthe- [illegible] Year Plans are constructive steps in national reconstruction.

The third plan has just ended which had the total outlay of Rs. 11,600 crores and had the main objectives of increasing national income, to achieve self-sufficiency in food grains, to expand basic industries like steel, chemical, fuels etc. to make the fullest possible use of the manpower of the country and to ensure a larger expansion in employment, to bring about more equality of opportunity *and to reduce* the differences in wealth, income etc. The

Third Plan was intercepted by Chinese aggression. Huge funds were diverted towards defence and development.

The Fourth Plan is supposed to have begun from April 1, 1966, larger objectives have been noted. As regards its achievements nothing can be said because it has just begun. Only the aims and objectives of the Fourth Plan will be discussed in the ensuing study.

The National Development Council at its meeting on Sept. 5-6, 1965 had adopted a total outlay of the order of Rs. 21,500 crores—Rs. 14,500 crores in the public sector and Rs. 7,000 crores in the private sector. But it is felt that due to the emergency created by Pakistan's aggression, the plan has to be reformulated. The Prime Minister as the Chairman of the Council has been authorised to make the necessary adjustments.

But the annual plan for 1966-67 has been presented to the Parliament which has a total outlay of the tune of Rs. 2,018 crores. In this period highest priority would be given to quick yielding schemes for agricultural production and family planning. The annual plan has the following highlights :

Food grains (addl-production)		7·8 million tons
Oilseeds	,,	9·7 million tons
Sugarcane	,,	12·5 million tons
Cotton	,,	6 8 million bales
Jute	,,	6·8 million bales

These targets of agricultural production will be achieved by applying 'new strategy' of chemical fertilizers, pesticides etc. The principal objective of the defence re-orientation in this year's Emergency Development Plan was to secure early increases in the supply of goods and services which were required at the front and for civil defence measures, which would maintain the essential

requirements of the population and which would conserve foreign exchange by import substitution and higher exports.

The Fourth Plan is also a continuation of the Third Plan. The unprecedented droughts have hit the agricultural output. The Third Plan also experienced other strains and imbalances in the economy. In this context the Planning Commission writes in its pruned plan presented to Parliament on April 7, 1966.

"It is inevitable that the plan for 1966-67 takes into account the existing strains in the economy arising from many unforeseen events of the Third Plan period."

With such a viewpoint before us, we should learn from the past experience. We should formulate plans on a scale which should err on a safer side as regards time lags, *achievements and estimates of resources. If Suez Crisis created unexpected* difficulties during the Second Plan period China's aggression and Indo Pak conflict during the third plan period, upset our entire programme of national construction, then *who knows what is impending for us in* future. While we cannot postpone our plans for fear of the unknown but it is definite that we should plan in a manner so that any unforeseen does not blow us off our feet.

After fifteen years of vigorous planning, we have increased our

and raised

improvemen

Our approach to planning *should be realistic and* pragmatic, not doctrinaire. Ambitious planning is also not good. We should embark upon the programme of short-term planning which would give us the results in short periods and thus we can make tangible assessment of *our planning policy*. Our plans are an insurance against aggression and act like sinews and muscles of our security and defence.

If this process of *peaceful planning goes on unint* - ruptedly, then we have reason to believe that the is not far off when India will be ranked among the le-

most and advanced nations of the world. Our Five-Year Plans are the objects of hope and vision which would usher in India an age of material glory, economic elevation and raised standards of living, with people enjoying fuller opportunities of employment, where there would be no economic inequalities and other disparities. Our plans have undertaken the programme of nation building. Mr. Ashoka Mehta, Planning Minister and Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, has to say in this context when he writes :

"I would like to say that nation building programmes which make for a literate, trained and healthy population, which keep us improving our roads, schools and civic living and which are the basis of a strong and self-reliant country, must not be off loaded because of our temporary difficulties." He further says : "It is these programmes which enable us to take the benefits of a welfare State to those who lack and need them most and cannot afford them. To the extent we widen this ambit of welfare, we remain true to our professions about socialism."

On the return of Ashoka Mehta Mission from U.S.A., Mr. Mehta declared in the Lok Sabha that the further pruning of Fourth Plan is inevitable. With the shortage of funds and resources and foreign aid, repruning of the plan has become imperative.

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71. "OUR SWEETEST SONGS ARE THOSE THAT TELL OF SADDEST THOUGHT"

(*Shelley*)

This pithy jotting by P. B. Shelley seems, prima facie, an apparent paradox. It is strange that a thing which is sad should be sweet and *vice versa*. Human psychology as yet is not so advanced and developed as to take a sad note for a pleasant one. A thing that is sad, is sad and which is sweet, is sweet. But the poet seems to pronounce a synthesis of the sad with the sweet.

The poet is a believer in his school of philosophy. Rather everyone sees life through his own glasses which may reflect the glow of joy or gloom of sorrow. But it is a fact, notwithstanding, that life is a queer mixture of sweetness and sadness, a mixed blend of joy as well as sorrow. On this earth there are two aspects of life—pleasure as well as *melancholy.*

But the question arises which one of the two *i.e.*, between sweetness and sadness, appeals to our heart. Which has a more profound impression upon our heart? From a study of human nature, it is obvious that a tragic note is more stirring than a happy one. A joyful thing comes and flees away, but a sad happening churns our mind for a longer period and leaves indelible scars on our hearts. *Sorrow and suffering appear to attract greater notice* and leave a more abiding impression upon us than laughter or joy. Emotion of pleasure or joy has inspired many sweet and *charming lyrics. But such joyous and delightful songs* have a momentary and transient spell.

In the realm of lyric poetry, there is no dearth of such song. For example, we quote Ben Jonson :

"Drink to me only with thine eyes"

or the following quotation by Campion

"Of a more delicate nature,
There is a garden in her face
Where roses and white lilies blow."

The reader of these line quoted above will certainly be transported into the heavens of fanciful joy and taste him like nectar. He will feel himself in a state of ecstasy, buoyant passion and may go on exclaiming, How sweet ! et al'. And if coincidentaly the beloved is close, he may invite : "Dear, come in my arms"

Such sensuous songs do have a *hypnotic spell upon* us. These songs relieve the reader from the boredom and monotony of li[illegible] Such lyrics activate [illegible] no time. It is in [illegible]

"Joy comes and goes
Ebbs and flows
Like the wave."

But when we hear Keats singing sadly "So haggard and woe begone", our hearts ache and bosoms bleed. Cowper's misery stricken state when he sobbed "I tempest tossed and wrecked at last", sends us into the pool of sorrow and sadness. Shelley, miserable and pitiable state is quite evident when we read his following lines

"Oh lift me as a wave, a leaf, a cloud
I fall upon the thorns of life ; I bleed."

These lines are full of the agony and anguish of the writer. Rather it has been seen that the real poetry flows from the moments of pity and suffering. It is this poetry which reveals and reflects the realities of humanity. The expressions of sorrow and heartache in verse or song, painting and sculpture have deeper and more-abiding appeal. The greatest and the loftiest works of art have been inspired by tragic emotion rather than by comic sentiments. The finest of love poetry all over the world is an echo and outpouring of the agony and anguish, despair and despondency, futility and frustration of unrequited love rather than of the joy of the consummation of love. The pain and grief have an intensity, a poignancy which penetrates the deepest recesses of human heart. The lover 'sighing like a furnace', 'the beloved bemoaning and bewailing the incompatibility of mew', the pangs of separation and the agony of the moments of waiting—all these have been the vital sources of the most poignant of love poetry in all the eras. This type of poetry moves the inner ventricles of human heart and a note of suffering and sorrow is felt.

Tragedy appeals to our heart, comedy to our hea So it is but natural that emotional outpourings touch o heart and not head. While seeing a picture in t cinema hall if we see a scene of tragedy, the entire audier is moved, their hearts begin to throb because it is t

tragic episode which has appealed to them and this state perpetuates for some more time.

The mighty and massive tragedies of Shakespeare like 'Hamlet', 'Macbeth', 'Othello' and 'King Lear' are frightening and ghastly. They are ranked above comedies of Shakespeare The murder of innocent Desdemona in 'Othello' followed by the suicide of her lover and murderer has wrung and shocked the hearts of all readers. We sympathise with the aged, and tottering Lear as he is externed by his unfilial and ungrateful daughter. 'Macbeth' portraying the nemesis of over-weening ambition, arouses a keener and quicker response than the comic and romantic situations in "As You Like It" or "The Twelfth Night" The tragic heroes of Shakespeare—Macbeth, Hamlet, Caesar, Othello, Lear—all tower above his comic characters like Flagstaff, Puck, or the happy heroines like Rosalind, Portia, Beatrice or Viola.

Tragedy is the reflection of the highest, the deepest and the noblest emotions. The greatest critics like Aristotle and Plato gave the tragedy a place of pride in their literary effusions. Homer and Virgil interjected tragic notes in their creations, and so are ranked high. Even the great Indian epics like 'Ramayana' and 'Mahabharata' appeal to us because of their tragic characters. King Dasarath's sad demise at the exile of his beloved son Rama, the lamentations of Sita, form one of the most moving chapters of 'Ramayana'. 'Mahabharata' is also replete with such tragic episodes. The insult to Draupadi by Kauravas in the open court, the ramblings of the Pandavas for a decade are some of the instances to mention which support above mentioned conclusion.

Then again arises the question 'why does tragedy appeal more than comedy ? Why are the saddest songs sweetest ? It is a baffling question. Does it mean that a man loves melancholy more than cheerfulness ? Only the pessimists may opt for it. As a matter of fact it is our utmost desire for happiness which makes us so sensitive to all that leads to misery and futility.

Thus, now, it is quite clear that the tragic underpin-
gs have got more appeal than comic ones. As a matter
act real tragedy is not depressing but elevating because
s only tragedy which makes us feel courageous and gives
at strength to revolt bearing on heart while comedy has
ect impact upon our intellect But comic events are
t so moving as tragic ones are.

These lines by P. B. Shelley are really reflective. The
ery human nature is summed up in these lines. A great
many poet and dramatist of the world has written
tragic notes. Shelley's dictum, therefore, is bound to
perpetuate in the minds of human beings for ever after.
It is a stark reality and realization quite in conformity
with the human emotions and feelings, nay, the very
quintenssence of human nature.

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72. THE DIGNITY OF LABOUR

The whole process of world progress right from the primitive and medieval times to the bullock-cart age and down to the present century known as nuclear age, has been achieved through the labour put by the people. Labourers and workers are the very backbone of a country. It is only through sincere devotion to work that countries advance A country, where men have in mind that to labour and work is infra dig, can never progress. They do not know the dignity of labour. In this respect the shining examples of European countries are galore. They respect their labourers and workers. Though whatever type of work they may be doing, the labourers are never looked with contempt and derision. Whether one is blacksmith or beedsmith, goldsmith or cobbler, sweeper or factory worker are respected by one and all. The false sense of dignity has not vitiated their minds. The termendous progress made by certain communist countries reveals the fact of the dignity of labour. These labourers and workers are really the pillars of their country's progress, prosperity and advancement.

Workers are the wealth of the nation. It is absurd and fantastic to look upon them with hate or any complex. It is a destructive thinking. Rather, these people should be so respected [illegible] complex in [illegible] the right pat[illegible] are houses, buildings, factories, roads, mills, plants and projects, is all because of manual labour. Manual labour is the very *sine qua non* of a country Without manual labour, there can be no progress in any field of human activity.

Modern machinery and mechanization are some of the achievements of this scientific age, which to some extent has put the class of labourers into unemployment. But even then, it will not make human labourer superfluous. To run those machines also requires labour and this class of labourers is known as industrial labourers. The speeding of production by modern machinery has solved many problems but it has certainly given rise to unemployment, even unfair distribution of wealth. This is the enigma of this scientific civilization.

"Labour conquers all things," said Homer. This saying stands true. The entire endeavour of world exploration, whether it was done by navigators or sea hawks like Columbus, or whether it was penetration into space done by scientists, or whether it was the harnessing of the resources and abundant potentialities of nature, or whether it meant going into the deepest depths of sea or the frigid and frozen regions of Antarctica, have all been achieved through human labour. Labour means pains. This taking of pains by labourers must be rewarded. John Locke is very much true and realistic when he says, "If we rightly estimate things, what in them is purely owing to nature, and what to labour, we shall find ninety-nine parts of a hundred are wholly to be put on account of labour."

Those who have a false notion regarding labour that it is something below their dignity to work manually are deceiving themselves. Such people cannot progress

in their lives. Their life is static. No change comes in their life. Labour and toil is an essential characteristic of human living. Labour must be encouraged at all costs. A nation, where there is laziness and dullness among people, cannot prosper and reach the desired heights in science, economics and national reconstruction. The idea of recognizing the manual labour should not only be encouraged and emphasised but also respected.

As Cleveland says: "A truly American sentiment recognises the dignity of labour and the fact that honour lies in honest toil." This viewpoint must be propagated and practised.

To put the dictum of 'dignity of labour' into practice, the educationists of our country have started a programme of basic education, according to which every student between the age group of 6 and 14, is made to learn certain arts and crafts, that the spirit of labour is inculcated in him from the early days. But his scheme of 'basic education' has not made much headway because the aristocratic scum in our country feels it below dignity to give such education to their children. This thinking is harmful. This false sense of dignity must be dispelled. What Germany and Japan are to-day are because of their faith in labour and their respect of the motto given by Carlyle, 'Work is Worship.'

Let us remember this doctrine of Carlyle, which is the only maker of the whole world. One must not shirk work. A no-life is better than a labourless life. As Bishop Cumberland spoke, "Better to wear out that to rust out."

There is need to honour and recognise this hard but simple fact of life *i.e.* 'the dignity of labour'. No amount of commonsense can take us away from this idea even in this age of deadening specialization and mechanization and machinery. "The workers are the saviours of society, the redeemers of the race" according to Eugene V. Debs.

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73. WHAT IS STATESMANSHIP ?

Statesmanship, broadly speaking is the regulating idea which governs the governments, whether the government is based upon democracy or dictatorship, or any other government which goes in the name of monarchy, diarchy, anarchy, bureaucracy, ochlocracy, or oligarchy. Statesmanship is the art of bringing one's country out of the mesh of chaos and confusion and put it on the path of progress and planning. All the heads of the States, whether one acts as a Prime Minister, President or Monarch, face in their regimes situations and conditions, which are very crucial and critical and sometimes even dangerous that may topple their governments if any *faux pas* is taken by them. Statesmanship involves ingenuity and political adroitness, profound wisdom and astute politics in manning the affairs of the nation both in *the internal corridors and external horizons*.

There is a school of thought that any statesmanship which serves the enlightened interest of the country is the best statesmanship. Had Machiavelli been alive to-day, he would have definitely supported this viewpoint. National interests are important but let there be no such [illegible] pottage, resorts to the infringement of international treaties and obligations. Let there be no such statesmanship [illegible] manship includes in keeping in view the overall benefit of humanity. There have been some politicians who have acted adversely on the stage of world politics simply to satisfy their own personal whims and caprices. Such statesmanship is bound to be derided by the generations of honest and humanity-loving people. Perhaps one of the best examples which can be given in the act of statesmanship is Jefferson, and through his own words, when he said in his First Inaugural Address :

ce, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations entangling alliance with none"

e history of the world is pregnant with the noble les in statesmanship and wisdom. Bismark and aldi' are the outstanding examples in statesman- vho integrated their country. Abraham Lincoln is xcellence who, through civil war, brought the unity nerican States. It was and is an illuminating exam- of superb statesmanship. Gladstone, Palmerston Disraeli led their country out of the maligned politics gave their country a right guidauce. Sir Winston rchill, the author, general, politician and statesman— rolled in one—is the latest example in the parlours of esmanship, who brought his country out from the ravag- flames of World War II.

There is a difference between a statesman and a poli- ian and thus difference is quite clear in the words of a eat man who said, "a statesman thinks of the next gene- tion, a politician of the next election."

Even in our own country there are dazzling examples of eaders who have shown statesmanship in the true sense of the term. The galaxy of Indian statesmen like Dada bhai Naoroji, Mahatma Gandhi and Lokmanya Tilal have shown how through the path of truth, non-violence and righteousness can be dislodged the foreign regime. It was also an act of statesmanship on the part of British Government in India, who realized the popular upsurge of Indian patriotism and considered that to stay further any more in India is fraught with dangerous consequences. They quit India and with their handing over the political leadership to the national government, a wind of freedom began to blow on many subjugated countries of Asia and Africa.

The policy which Communist China has adopted in the domain of international politics cannot by any stretch of imagination be called as statesman-like gesture. The penctration by the Chinese mandarins in Tibet in early

fifties, and the subsequent overthrow of the Dalai Lama satrapy, then the aggression by China in Korea and their most perfidious and insidious military adventure over the sacred soil of India in 1962, earned for the Chinese an opprobrium of an invader, intruder, aggressor and conquestador. This Chinese Communism alias imperialism is in no way an act of statesmanship. China at present is feeling in a quarantine, in isolation The retreat of China from various Afro-Asian countries has confirmed that it is the villain of the piece. Chinese embassy in Indonesia was burnt, the pro-Peking regime in Ghana toppled all are the stark and dismal failures of the Chinese policies. They are indulging in blatant expansionism and brutal aggression.

Statesmanship, therefore, consists in creating and promoting peace in the whole world and happiness for mankind. Khruschev's singing of test ban treaty was an exercise in statesmanship. Pakistan's recent adventures and other Goebblesquian tricks are least statesmanlike. Theirs is the impure politics of maligning India. A wise statesman guides his country in all the times and climes either of war or peace. Any wrong step, at any moment, whether in war or peace, may invite a national calamity. Shastriji's handling of political situation during the Indo-Pak incursions was a heightened gesture in statesmanship. Because these are the very statesmen which are the makers of the destinies of the countries. Let no statesman forget the sententious saying of Daniel O' Connell that "Nothing is politically right which is morally wrong."

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74. TRAINING IN LEADERSHIP

Leaders who have in them the inborn qualities of dash, daring, enterprise, courage, proper judgment and oratory are few and far between, but the major phlanx of the world leaders have kissed the Everstine heights in their political careers only because of the training which they have received in their schools, colleges, universities and

playgrounds. The germs of leadership become evident even from the earlier stages of a man's life. Those who are really born great do not need much training. They are geniuses versatile, no doubt. Whatever task they undertake, they accomplish it successfully. If we peep into the panorma of world history, we shall come across such leading luminaries who did not undergo any extra training, but showed in their career a skill and statesmanship, courage and bravery and other noble qualities of head and heart.

But even then such geniuses, if given further training, can rise like a meteor in their respective walks of life. A leader is useful everywhere, whether it is politics, education, religion or science. School houses serve as the right training ground for the youngsters. To inculcate in them a sense of discipline, punctuality, the school teacher has the best role to play. Those who have in them the symptoms of leadership soon become prominent. As is said, "Coming events cast their shadows before" stands correct in case of such students. The monitor of the class has in him the quality to control the whole class. In him, comes the spirit of initiative and a skill to govern the whole class.

The other sphere through which there can be the full flowering of all the instincts of leadership is the sphere of sports. Sportsmanship teaches service and sacrifice, accommodation and tolerance, team spirit, co-operation and to face defeats cheerfully and then congratulate the victors. The captain of a team is a leader in this sense. The whole team is at his command and obeys him. Such leader-players really emerge out great leaders in their future walk of life. Such qualities must also be possessed by the leaders of the military. A military leader is very much expected to take dramatic decision and to face the ordeal successfully. Courage of conviction and proper action at proper time is expected from him. Such military commanders receive their fullest training through N.C.C. and other allied courses. To observe discipline rigidly, to obey the orders of the commanders are the great qualities which one learns during his training in

N.C.C., A.C.C. and other alike fileds. The historic success of Sir Winston Churchill as a statesman-politican was also due to the training in military. This soldier statesman of England gave the right lead to his country. [illegible] coup- [illegible] qua- [illegible] man in such qualities like courage, stamina and daring.

The other quality which is required in a good and great leader is the power to make his audience spell bound The masterly oratory is one of the most significant qualities in an astute leader. Such qualities of speaking and attracting the audience can only be acquired from the college and university stage. There are debating clubs, declamations and other extra-curricular activities arranged by college unions, associations and societies. The office-bearers of these unions and societies are very much trained in the art of leadership. They frequently come on the stage and speak to the audience, can judge the mood of the audience and act according to that All these activities help a great deal in developing the qualities which are required in leaders of all shades and sizes

This experience proves them in good stead. From the experience in all these fields which one gets during his school, college and university days is of great help and value to the class of people who later on want to join politics or are previleged by some other posts of public dealings. Reason and judgment are also the great qualities of a leader. To organize, to address mass audience, the capacity to take dramatic decisions and inspire confidence in the audience in, stamina, initiative and courage and a thorough grasp of all the problems confronting the country are needed badly in a leader whatever may his field of activity be—social, political, cultural, military, religious or educational. All such characteristics of leadership can be extracted from social service camps, extra-curricular activities, play-grounds, N.C.C. and allied spheres of life.

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75. IDEALS OF A GOOD EDUCATION

A good education is an all-round development of moral, mental and physical faculties of human beings. An education, which is only centred in teaching the text books without imbibing any creative outlook and balanced development of human faculties and powers, has no right to claim as a good education. A good education aims at providing the young people with correct values of life. Life is based upon the type of education we receive. Our life is good or bad according to the education we have received.

A good education must create and strengthen moral instincts and impulses. Education devoid of morality has no particular qualifications to be called education. Education must generate a creative spirit among human beings. Creativity is the keynote of a good education. An education, which simply produces matriculates and graduates without telling them their duties and responsibilities towards society and nation is not education in the truest sense. In the present system of education there is large-scale lawlessness and rowdyism among students. Strikes, demonstrations and other ugly acts have become very rampant. This gross indiscipline among student community is not merely undesirable but utterly objectionable. Such outbursts of indiscipline, lawlessness must be curbed if students are to really benefit from their education. Edcuation must teach man the art of living in the social structure of humanity in accordance with recognized values and principles and human and civilised standards.

A good education stands in imparting over-all knowledge to a man, of his milieu, his culture and national heritage as well as to broaden his mental horizons and increase his intrinsic intellectualism. Education makes people to be tolerant and accommodating and does not allow in the province any inroads of bigotry, fanaticism and narrow-mindedness. The ideals of a good education are to impart a cosmopolitan and secular outlook. A good education keeps people away from all the shams and

pretensions, from the effete and obsolete ideas and from other cramping superstitions and sophistry.

A good education imbues the noble qualities of devo- [illegible] loftiest ideals of egalitarian, humanitarian and utilitarian spirit. A good education teaches a man to love mankind and develop a universal outlook and brotherhood of mankind. It also inspires man to deeds of sacrifices, service and charity.

The ideals of a good education must be to make a mind refined in habits and manners and also to make him a finest flower of civilization and culture, loving all and hating none. At the same time a good education must breed in man all the qualities of head and heart and give him sound training in nationalism and internationalism. A man is what his education makes him. Robust faith in nationalism and sound knowledge of his ancient past are among other ideals of education. It must make one chivalrous and gallant, brave and determined

A good education teaches us to think fearlessly but act with moderation. It also gives us courage which is the mean between cowardice and rashness. Strive to acquire a proper balance, courage without rashness, justice without vindictiveness, mercy without weakness and caution without timidity are the guidelines of a good education. That one must be religious but not bigoted, speak gently not insincerely, speak boldly but not harshly, be angry but not without a strong cause, be cruel but not to the weak, have mercy but not to the cruel, be devout but not fanatical, enjoy without elation, worship deity and not display are some of the other striking characteristics of a good education.

A good education never sidetracks the idea of a sound mind in a sound body. Physical aspect of education is inter-related with its moral and mental aspect. The

human personality is of great significance and no education neglects this view-point.

At the same time education must not ignore the realities of the age. Education must have a practical bias. That learning and knowledge are highly needed is indubitable, but if education does not make one fit and able to earn his livelihood, then it is no education. Some professional education is also a necessity. The practical side would be given more attention. Mere bookish knowledge is not enough.

So, human beings are what education has made them. The character and self-confidence are the cornerstones of a good education. The doings, deeds and actions of a man reflect the type of education he has received. As Pope says in his Moral Essays :—

"'Tis education forms the common mind ;
Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined.'

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76. THE MODERN WOMAN

The study of the modern woman is a fascinating one. Because the woman of 20th century stands in a striking contrast to the woman of 19th century. The entire cycle of human progress has undergone a profound change during the last half a century and so is the case with woman. Rather the change in Eve is the most glaring and profoundest of all the changes in this century of bewildering flux of ideas and astounding scientific progress.

The modern woman enjoys all the pleasures, privileges which her counterpart man enjoys. Modern woman has entered into all the departments of human activity whether the department is a political one, a social one, an educational one, a cultural one or a scientific one. The fair sex of the mid-twentieth century has achieved a measure of independence and political freedom which the woman of past even could not have dreamed of what to speak of

achieving. She is no longer a slave of man and has ceased to be subject to male exploitation. Even in some Muslim countries, the Muslim belle is protesting against the purdah system and is endeavouring to emerge out from the tyranny of males. Modern woman has won her political and social rights, the struggle for which was launched by Mary Wollestonecraft in England many years ago. She has the right to franchise, can fight elections and can become Member of Parliament, Member of Legislative Assembly, even Minister in the Cabinet. Mrs. Indira Gandhi is our present Prime Minister. This has shown that woman can rise to any high position on the land. She has emancipated herself from the barbarous system of the past. She no longer believes in the customs and conventions that are retrogressive. Her outlook has become progressive and modern. The disparities of sex have been eliminated. She can fight for status like men. There is tremendous awakening in the modern woman.

The old notion that woman is meant for hearth and home has become outdated and obsolete Modern woman has joined almost all the spheres of human life. In office, she is proving well. Her success in every field is astonishing. Now-a-days, there are women scientists, professors, engineers, architects, businessmen, politicians, and civil servants. She has emerged herself out from the coils of conventionalism and backward past. She no longer believes in the crotchets and conundrums of the past and has ceased to be confined in the four walls of the house. Modern woman has certainly rendered incorrect the dictum of Shakespeare, when he says in 'Othello', one of his mighty tragedies,

' You are picture out of doors,
Belles in your parlours, wild cats in your kitchens..."

Modern woman has shed her old nostrums of shyness, diffidence and the inferiority complex and possesses in her a degree of self-reliance andself confidence. She has the courage of conviction and has developed the quality of

initiative and daring and leadership. Some of the outstanding women leaders of the modern world have shown stupendous success in their careers. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit has been the President of U.N.O. and India's High Commissioner in United Kingdom and Governor of Maharashtra. Smt. Sucheta Kripalani has proved herself a good administrator as the Chief Minister of U.P. In our present Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, we have a leader devoted and dedicated to the very cause of the country.

But the description referred to above only points the one side of the coin. The other side of the coin must not be neglected. We must also know the faults which the modern woman has developed. The shedding of shyness has led to the loss of modesty, which is the most important characteristic in a woman. Freedom has certainly degenerated into licence. Her advancement has led to many social evils. With her education and office, she has resorted herself to acts of irresponsibility and superficiality having no depth of sentiment or feeling. As a mother she has proved to be indifferent, as a wife a careless lot. Higher education has brought perversion of mind in many women. She has no regard for other scruples and wants to lead an easygoing and happy-go-lucky life.

Modern woman has become too much fashion-minded, pastering, powdering and puffing are her modern fashions. She believes in exhibiting her physical charms and seducing and captivating the hearts of men. Love for modern woman is just a sport. She acts like Juliet and wants to enthrall wayside Romeos. Freedom has certainly been misused by woman. Modern woman is interested in the life of clubs and coffee houses, sees cinemas and is zealous of twist. She wants to act like the ladies of Shakespeare and tries to follow his renowned heroines like Viola, Beatrice, Rosalind and Miranda.

In fact, modern woman possesses some tastes and temperaments, charms and fascinations, which were denied to

the belles of the past. The Eve of modern times is altogether different from the Eve of fifty years ago.

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77. NON-VIOLENCE IN HUMAN RELATIONS

Though the *ideal of non-violence formed the corner*-stone of Gandhian philosophy, but its origin dates back to the times of Ashoka, Buddha and Christ Non-violence is a great and noble ideal. It is an ideal, humanitarian and egalitarian. Almost all the peace-loving people cherish this ideal. It is the fulcrum round which they revolve. Non-violence is an essential doctrine of humanity, nay, it is a great moral force.

To practise this principle in the horizons of human relations shows the maturity and loftiness of thought. One who tries to refrain from violence, even if he is attacked, is considered to be an act in nobility and a tolerant attitude All along the years of great struggle for independence, Gandhiji adhered strictly to the principle of non-violence. Non violence was a creed with Mahatma Gandhi. Even in the face of grave provocations and tyrannical acts of foreign government, Gandhiji acted with restraint and non violence. That this leading-most statesman of India practised the policy of non violence during movement for Indian independence and won independence is a tour de force Gandhiji's noble idealism was quite keeping in with the spirit of India's ancient cultural heritage. Non-violence, even in international relations, is a force of moral importance. But even then, the humanity is learning this lesson in non-violence very slowly.

But factually speaking, the historical panorama of the world reveals that this ideal has been badly shattered. This humanity is still miles away to undersstand th reality. Up till now it has been an impracticable idea The ideal is good but cannot be put into practice every where and with everyone. In this world there are people of all tastes and temperaments. There are most peace-loving people, there are most belligerent people. There

re most honest nations, there are most dishonest and reacherous nations. There are most humanitarian people, but there is also a class of people who come near to the old pagan,............and barbarians. As a matter of fact, to practise this principle in the corridors of international relations is not merely impossible but fraught with disastrous consequences of national extinction.

But Gandhiji's approach to non-violent means was very judicious His conception of non-violence was clear. Where he cried to maintain peace and calm, there he also advocated the use of force to suppress the inhuman brutalities and wanton atrocities. When Pakistan invaded Indian territory in Jammu and Kashmir, Gandhiji never hasitated in using force Gandhiji never wanted peace but with honour. The concept of non-violence must take note of the realities of the surrounding atmosphere. When China attacked our country in 1962, we never advocated non-violence. Nor we propagated non-violence, when Pakistan attacked our country in 1965. So non-violence is a policy that changes with the tune of time, place and circumstance. Had this world been an ideal world, then there could have been the possibility of non-violence. But this world is inhabited by energetic belligerents, who do not want others to live in peace. To set such people right retaliatory measures have to be taken. We went on asking Portuguese to vacate the territories of Goa, Diu and Daman, but our voice fell on deaf ears and they did not pay any heed to our notes of protestation. Ultimately, to keep the honour and prestige of our nation, we had to use other means for driving Portuguese out. Nor the notion of non-violence can be practised before lawlessness. When these rowdy elements create trouble and thus disturb the peace, the situation cannot be tackled by non-violence.

The use of violence in solving inter-national disputes is a salient feature of the entire history of humanity. In the past, there had been bloody wars against one another. To quote, Ramayana and Mahabbarata in the oriental hemisphere and Illiad in the occidental hemisphere co

firm our view-point. India has been a happy hunting ground for foreign invaders just after the close of first millenium. These are historical facts. Even this twentieth century which is the high watermark in culture and civilization has experienced the grim spectacle of two wars, which were most awful and destructive. It is extraordinary to note how we have been conducting peace conferences and exchanging goodwill missions and signing test ban treaties but at the same time are threatened by the other world war of grave magnitude which will bring about a total extinction of mankind. What a juxtaposition it is !

An assiduous study in world history teaches how great problems have been solved through violence, bloodshed, revolution and massacre. The Russian Revolution was accompanied with mass murders and massacres, loot and bloodshed, unparalleled in world annals but this bloody revolution led to the all-round progress of Soviet Union and is to day one of the biggest powers not only in material field but also in the field of science and technology. The country which goes in the name of United States of America to day rose on the debris of darkest form of colonialism in 1776, only through an internecine war. All the newly freed Afro-Asian countries arose upon the smoking ruins of imperialism. Then to say that all such acts of liberating countries from foreign yoke have been the acts of infringement of non-violence and world peace is tantamount to the very idea of equalising the entire history of free world with brutal aggression. People must not bear the brazen acts of brutality and barbarism, deposition and exploitation perpetrated on them by foreign powers. Aggression must be resisted with full force. Surrender before aggression does not mean a non-violent approach rather it is cowardly gesture and apostatic submission.

Though there is a great wave of violence here and everywhere either in the name of dacoities or robberies or lawlessness and murders, but humanity is still dreaming for that moment which would usher in an era of peace

and human happiness, when hatred and animosity would be wiped out, when violence and war will be outlawed and there would be perfect order and harmony in the whole world.

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78. A THING OF BEAUTY IS A JOY FOR EVER

(*Keats*).

'A thing of beauty is a joy for ever' is an adage of great depth and profundity. The line is an outpouring of Keats' mind which is the very quintessence of his philosophy. Keats was an adorer of beauty, lover of beauty, a worshipper of beauty and above all, a slave of beauty. He was an admirer of the beauty of the woman, while Wordsworth was enchanted by the beauty of nature. But beauty is an over-all thing which was liked and loved by Keats. This used to be a source of enjoyment to him. Beauty with him, as with the Greeks, was the first world and the last of Art. But as we turn to his poems of the later period, he rose to a higher conception of beauty and the ethical element which had been altogether ignored gradually penetrated into his poetry.

But this viewpoint is not only the preserve of Keats. There are many people who like beautiful objects, which in turn accentuate their joy, which in turn prolongeth their life. Any beautiful object is a source of enjoyment and pleasure. While a youngman may be the admirer of the beauty of a woman, the old man may delight in perceiving the beauty pervading in the objects of nature. It is but natural that there runs a current of ecstasy and eternal pleasure, the moment one beholds a bewitching beauty. Some like to see the beautiful sights and scenes of nature. For the lovers of nature, nature is everything. They derive pleasure out of the objects of nature whether it is a mountain or a landscape, a cataract or a winding river or lush-green meadows. Their hearts are gladdened, spirits thrilled, minds exalted and moods enlightened on seeing the wonderful wonders of nature. This keeps the state of their minds in perfect happiness and harmony.

Keats even finds a complete identification between beauty and nature, when he says in one of his famous odes the "Beauty is truth truth beauty". His this attitude proved for him a source of exhilaration and longer life to some extent. He yearned for beauty throughout the whole of his life and prefers to fade away from the stage of life so that he may forget

> "The weariness, the fever and fret of this world where
> Beauty cannot keep her lustrous eyes"

There have been people for whom the only object of beauty was the beauty of a woman They sacrificed each and everything in order to get the distressing damsels of marvellous beauty. For such people, it was the only source which radiated joy. King Edward the VIII abdicated his throne even, in order to get his beloved. For him, the throne and crown was not an object of joy and beauty as was the beauty of woman The case of Helen and Cleopatra is another instance. Kingdoms were destroyed, cities burnt and tremendous destruction was done in order to win these objects of ravishing beauties. Helen and Cleopatra were the Beau-ideal of their times.

But the Keatsian concept of beauty that 'A thing of beauty is a joy for ever' becomes contradistinctive in case of Helen and Cleopatra. In spite of making the lives of men more happy, these cherry-cheeked beauties made the lives of men more miserable, troublesome and annoying. These beautiful belles did not prove a store of joy and happiness. Rather they brought annihilation and scourge upon the people. The statement stands contradicted. Helen and Cleopatra had the world fame comeliness and concinnity. But their pulchritude brought disaster for mankind.

But it is an experience with people, that every object which appears beautiful attracts great attention and interest. But this interest in the beautiful objects varies from person to person. Everyone likes a thing of his/her own choice. Everyone has his/her own glasses to see the

objects of beauty. But it is now a generalised fact that things which are beautiful are really heartening, delightful and ecstatic. They, in fact, prove to be a ceaseless fount of joy. And the joyfulness of a man prolongeth his life.

The statement that 'A Thing of Beauty is a Joy for Ever' sums up Keats' conception of poetry. Poetry, according to Keats, should not be a vehicle of philosophy, nor of religious teaching, or social and political theories, "but the incarnation of beauty."

W.H. Hudson writes: "The famous opening line of Endymion—'A thing of beauty is a joy for ever'—strikes the key-note of Keats' work. 'I have loved', he declared in one of his later letters, 'the principle of beauty in all things'; and as the modern world seemed to him to be hard, cold and prosane, he habitually sought an imaginative escape from it, not like Shelley into the future land of promise, but into the past of Greek mythology, as in Endymion, Lamia, or of medieval romances, as in, La Bella Dame Sans Merci and Isabella. In his treatment of nature this same passion for sensuous beauty is still the dominant feature......".

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79. "PLAYING THE GAME"

"Playing the game" is a phrase which implies strict adhernece to all the recognised principles of human conduct. This term is widely used in and derived from sports. A sportsman is always expected to be honest and fair in his game irrespective of victory and defeat. His forte is to act within the limits of standard behaviour and act upon the established canons of moality. Thus the remark stands for respecting all the rules and regulations which are the very *sine qua non* of a civilized and cultured society, a society which is a standard in human living and behaviour.

"Playing the game" is such a phrase that it demands rightness, fair dealings in each and every department of

human activity. A gentleman is always expected to "play the game". He will have to be a finest flower of human civilization whose motto should always be fairness in human relations and fairness and justice everywhere. Anyone who acts against the norms and standards of human civilization betrays this idiom. A sportsman never exults over his victory nor groans over his defeat. He also bahaves in a sportsmanlike spirit, which in its wider context applies his such sense of spirit in every walk of life. A sportsman never stoops to lower means to achieve the desired ends but is a strict disciplinarian and believes in the spirit of "fair play".

People are also expected to "play the game" in ther business and social relations. When one makes a promise to other it must be honoured. Commitments must be abided. Anyone who backs out from his promises and *commitments doesnot "play the game". "Playing the* game" involves that when one is put in a loss, he must *do the required and promised work One should not deceive others Making a fool of the less educated people is not in accordance with "playing the game" No one* should be made a laughing stock, nor anyone should be *looked down upon with contempt and derision.* Gentlemanliness does not demand it It illbehoves a man to *bamboozle others in order to achieve* his ends. Anyone who makes a breach of the promises, violates rules, dis*obeys the orders of his commanders,* goes against the temperament of the society or injures the feelings of *others does not "play the game".* Also, if anybody acts with cruelty on the weak, mercilessly on the poor, amasses *wealth wickedly and robs* the weaker sections of the society of their needs of sustenance and subsistence, hood*winks the concept of "playing* the game".

"Playing the game" phrase is the very cornerstone of an everlasting friendship But it is a queer fact that when two friends quarrel with each other, a breakaway in their relation comes. Then the minds pervert to such *acts as may harm* the other. One tries to be an obstacle in the progress of the other and does not want oth

flower in his life. Secrets are exposed even if one sits passively and does not intend to harm others. Such disastrous mental proclivity is not in accordance with 'playing the game".

The phrase also holds good in conjugal relations. If there is complete confidence between the married couple and none of the two is disloyal to the other, they are certainly playing the game. If wife smacks anything in the husband, then husband must prove his fidelity to his wife, so that the doubt is dispelled. But if the husband conceals his guilt or the wife is guilty of infidelity and keeps it undisclosed. then both are criminals in the light of the phrase the "playing the game".

In Shakespeare's 'Macbeth' one finds a striking event when this idiom 'playing the game' is thrown to winds. Macbeth murders Duncan, who is a guest of Macbeth This treacherous act of murder of his guest by Macbeth shows that Macbeth did not play the game. But we find this maxim 'playing the game' practised well in a novel. 'Pride and Prejudice' by Jane Austen. Elizabeth, the heroine of the novel 'plays the game' when in the end she agrees to marry Darcy after all her doubts are dispelled and cleared.

This dictum also holds good in the political horizons where countless cases of corruption and malpractice are often committed—where leaders befool and bamboozle others for the fulfilment of their ulterior motives, where the masses are deceived and deluded by their leaders. As a matter of fact, a sane person tenders his regination, the moment he is castigated or charged with corruption or any other misdemeanour. But such acts are very rare. Public demand is ignored. All such people who persist in and cling to their malactivities and do not respect the voice of masses, do not play the game. All the moral criteria of conduct are ignored by the leading politicians.

So is true in the arena of international relations and politics. Those countries who flout international agree-

ments and obligations do not play fair game. China, despite her signing 'Panchshila' treaty; aggressed Indian territory and stabbed India in the back. Hitler's launching of invasion over Allies despite his signing a no-war-pact, was a serious violation of the dictum of "playing the game". When America gave arms aid to Pakistan the then President Eisenhower declared that if this arm aid is used by [illegible] country, then America [illegible] would thwart the ag[illegible] o anything in order to honour their commitment made in 1954, during the outbreak of hostility between India and Pakistan and the latter's blatant use of American military equipment against India and thus the Americans did not 'play the game'.

Thus soundness of the phrase is too much because this moralising applies in all the walks of life and must be practised by one and all whether one is a businessman, politician, student, teacher or government official, in order to boost the morale of the general run of humanity. So this apopthegm derived from J M Berrie's play "The Admirable Crichton," when the eldest daughter of the aristocratic family pays her tribute to the honesty and [illegible]

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80. ALL WORLD'S A STAGE

The statement 'All the World's a stage' was expounded [illegible] Shakespeare, the mighty bard of [illegible] nas entitled 'Macbeth'. [illegible] ld to a stage and all the human beings just like dramatic personnel. Men and women are actors who come and act on the stage and after enacting their part leave the stage As actors appear on a stage-performance and then leave, so is the case with

human beings who come into this world and after leading their lives pass on to the next world. Our life span is just like the duration of a play. The only difference is that a play lasts only for some hours and a life lasts for years. We have seen mighty personalities appeared on this earth which after performing their duties and responsibilities for a brief period disppeared from this world stage. Swami Dayananda came and spread his gospel of love and universality of thought and then left this material world. So is Vivekananda, who played his part on this stage. He preached the message of human love, he was a worshipper of humanity and advocated this view throughout whole of his life. Napoleon, Hitler, Mussolini and Garibaldi appeared and after playing brief roles on this stage of human affairs left for the destined goal.

The criteria that an actor is good or bad predominantly depends upon his actions, his gestures in the drama. Every human being, thus, is judged from his behaviour, his treatment of others, his actions and deeds. The action mirrors the personality of the artist. As Locke has said ; "The acts of men are the best interpreters of their thoughts." The character of Hitler is dubbed that of a fascist and mass murderer. So Stalin also comes before the people as an advocate of violence While Garibaldi and Washington are the greatest liberators of mankind from the colonial cobwebs. Rather, it can be said everyman is a type character. Gandhi and Tagore apart from being the exponents of Indian culture and heritage are ranked as great votaries of truth and non-violence while Goebbles is notorious for concocting and speaking lies. But let in not be forgotten the didactic remark of Thomas that 'Unselfish and noble actions are the most radiant pages in the biography of souls'. The noble and lofty characters are adorned and eulogised by the historians and writers and their lives point morals. While wicked and villainous characters are condemned and cursed by all alike. Shakespeare's Julius Caesar and Macbeth are termed as tyrant and murderer respectively. It is a proven fact that we are what our deeds are. George Eliot was

right when he remarked, "our deeds determine us, as much as we determine our deeds." G.D. Boardman would have us believe further "our deeds are the seeds of the fate sown here on earth, but bringing forth their harvest in eternity."

On the stage, we see a limitless variety of characters, so is the case with human beings who represent diversity in views and thoughts. Sharkespeare has depicted in his literary works about 1200 types of characters but in the gamut of humanity the figure far exceeds In drama, we see life as a living reality. All the taboos and tantrums of humanity are revealed and reflected through actors and characters on the stage As a matter of fact, the stage is a world in miniature The trends and tendencies of the age, of the world, find their befitting expression through the dramatis personae. The customs of the society are reflected on the stage. Thus the worthy bard's aphoristic remark has gone through the test of time and to day it is as true as ever.

But let us not be oblivious to the fact that this world is something more than a phalanx of characters that appear on the stage. This world has a gigantic character. It has its own reality, its own substance and significance that to compare it with a small stage and the play enacted on it is doing but scant justice. The play on the stage lasts only for some [illegible]

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actors of various dramas In King Lear, a drama b[illegible] Shakespeare, a character of the same name as of the p[illegible] undergoes suffering and hardship. King Lear's life

study in human suffering. Thus sometimes we do find very moving, very touchy and very life-like characters in plays as we find in our actual life.

The idea that "All the World's a stage" also finds a striking note in Ben Jonson's saying, "Our whole life is like a play". A play is a pocket life. It depicts the life in miniature. A play is the compendium of the whole life. The whole world is epitomised in the play. On the whole, the remark is true to a great extent.

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81. INDIA'S CULTURAL HERITAGE

The ancient culture of India is par excellence in the sense that it has been the home of all such values which go to enrich a country's heritage. That technologically and industrially, we are not up to the mark if compared to other western countries, but it is an established fact that India has been a land of saints and sages, seers and savants, peers and prophets, who believed in the theory of Karma, which is the very fulcrum around which the whole world revolves. Ours has been a mighty land which has upheld the traditions of piety, penance, purification of soul, spiritual elevation, conquest of passions, goodwill towards all and enmity with none. India has been fount and fountain of philosophical intellectualism, of religious emotionalism, of divine radiance, and a reservoir of wisdom and knowledge. In the sky of her ancient heritage, Vedas and Upanishads are just like the suns of knowledge and learning, which with their superb scriptures and wide quotations illuminate the whole world with rays of knowledge. Even the Western historians and scholars have admitted the fact that India has been a well of worldly wisdom.

Our great Rishis and Munis believed in the ideal of contemplative life, our cultural index proves that we have been beneficial to all and injurious to none. Our

men of worldly wisdom and divine powers explored the innermost mysteries and secrets of the universe, even if it is meant, going to the seventh depth of the sea and facing death face to face. They tried their best to ease the process of life which is very complicated and riddled by the obnoxious conventions and custom-ridden society. India has been a staunch exponent of tolerance and accommodation, peace and hospitality.

To be in communion with God has been the cherished ideal of our seers and peers. They believed in some omnipotent power. To reach that divine power, our yogis and saints underwent all the hardships, sufferings and privations of a secluded and sequestered life by living and meditating in the horror-stricken jungles, in the abodes of nature, which used to be far off from the din and dust of town life, from the madding crowd of ignoble strife. These hermits and heretics sacrificed their each and everything which goes in the name of worldly pleasures and material values, in order to search for the enternal. Materialism was looked down upon by them as an object of aspersion and anathema. Spiritualisation of the life was the ideal before them "What it will be of any use to man, if he gains the whole world and loses his own soul "So, it was this soul-force, which worked miracles. Our scriptures enshrine the lofty idealism of purification and nobility of spirit. The holy endeavours of Swami Dayanada and Vivekananda were profound in the sense that they not only preached and propounded the gospel to well suit the entire humanity but also wanted to create a universal outlook. Love to all and hatred towards none is the summum bonum of Indian heritage.

The Western view of life is at a different angle. They attached great importance in promoting science and technology. Better economic conditions and well-being of the people has been their fine forte, no doubt materialistic. West can present the puerile parodies of Picasso in the name of painting, the obscene obscurantism of a Jean Paul Sartre in the name of Existentialism, the

aboriginal acrobatics of and empire state building in the name of architecture, the soulless silhouettes of an Epstein in the name of sculputre, the spider webs of Stalinist semantics in the name of morality, the paroxysms of Pat Boone in the name of music and the skilful phrases of Belfourne. No wonder, this implied the elixir of spontaneity and knowledge from the East to the West but that lamps of higher learning have always gone one after another is quite discernible as we pass from Ramayana and Mahabharata to Homer's Iliad and Odyssey. Moreover the springs of Indian culture satisfy the human thirst for philosophy, intellect and spiritual values, like fraternity and fellow-feelings. God-fearing nature, contemplation, meditation, love, charity, piety, deity, unselfishness and lofty philosophy of this, that and all-else". Control over passionate impulses and peace of mind have been the most important teachings of Indian way of life. Our pristine past is a treasure chest of lofty values and innate ideals. The ancient period is a storehouse of all the noble values. Reverential genuflection to God and praying to Him gives a solace and spiritual satisfaction to the millions of our country. Our countrymen have always respected the great truths and consider virtue and not vice as their creed.

Gita is that profound revelation of a great divine that the greatest of Western scholars and religious reformers have considered it as a sublimest scripture enshrining the truths and values which are loved by the whole world. Gita's essence is that it teaches the superiority of soul over body and according to Bhagvatism, soul is immortal and after death it undergoes the process of trans-communication. 'Ramayana' and 'Mahabharata' are two other great and lucid expostulations on our ancient culture and heritage and give the moralising that it is only virtue which triumphs over vice, only good triumphs over evil. In 'Panchatantra' we read the soul-stirring saga of bravery, chivalry, gallantry and heroism. It is a study in human prowess. Buddha taught us how to attain salvation and purification of

mind by controlling the passionate desires and impulses. Gandhiji and Tagore are the two great luminaries on the horizons of 20th century India who preached and practised a life of simplicity, restraint, dedication and service and sacrifice. Their motto was of plain living and high thinking the echo of which is quite found in our rich and great heritage and both strived ceaselessly to make India a spiritual nation.

Apart from this aspect of our great past, there is another side known as the artistic aspect of our cultural heritage. In addition to our deep study in the subjects like philosophy, spiritualism, religion, love and literature, we have a proud tradition of varied arts and fine arts like architecture and sculpture, music and dancing, painting and so on. The reflection which one gets in the caves of Ajanta and Ellora in the temples of South India, in the historical monuments like Taj Mahal which is a 'dream in marble', a 'poem in stone' and Qutab Minar are not merely of piece de resistances in the hierarchy of Indian arts and culture but also provide an interesting study regarding the Indian concept of love. The various shades of Indian music, whether it is vocal or instrumental, classical or modern, have really enthralled the lovers of music all over the world. Bharat Natyam, Kathakali and other dances give a supreme blend of India's love for arts and fine arts. Her flora and fauna, her poets and prose-writers, astrologers and astronomers, law givers and lexicographers, grammarians and galaxy-gazers, musicians and magicians, rope dancers and snake charmers, dancers and dramatists, songsters and sculptors—all like innumerable rivers of art and culture—enter in the vast ocean that is Indian heritage.

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82. THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

It is a bit difficult to predict as to what will happen in the years to come because everything lies in the womb of future. Even then, we can make an interest-

ing study about the shape of things to come from the prevalent trends and tendencies in the vortex of world scene. It is quite apparent that after one decade the sun of freedom will rise on almost whole of the world. Whatever and wherever the colonial and imperial pockets are left will be liberated by the strong and powerful winds of freedom. This world would see the sunset of imperialism and sun rise of freedom.

The underdeveloped countries would leap forward in the field of science, technology and social engineering. The islands of poverty and misery would be reduced in numbers and the ocean of affluence would extend its frontiers. The Afro-Asian continent would emerge out as a stronger and united entity and there would be the institutionalisation of Asia and Africa. The Afro-Asian solidarity would be further strengthened and air of peace and friendship would blow over the Eastern hemisphere.

The scientific knowledge would internationalise the whole world because without science there cannot be any progress and science is something universal, having no boundaries and frontiers. Science has already narrowed down the whole world. Air aviation has made the countries like the neighbouring provinces.

The hazards of space travel have opened up new vistas in the region of inter-planetary communication and it is hoped that soon mankind would have pleasure trips to moon and other planets. This exploration into the outer space has opened a new chapter in the history of mankind and the time is not far off when cosmic laboratories and interplanetary stations will be established in the cosmos.

Atomic energy is another wonder of modern science and promises to herald an era of material splendour and economic glory. There would be trains running on atomic energy and this nuclear power would be the pivot round which would revolve the realm of industry. In the

near future, humanity would conquer the unconquerable forces of nature. Disease, ignorance, illiteracy, epidemics and other afflictions from which the earthly beings are suffering would also be conquered

With the spread of international outlook, the narrow sectarianism, the regional parochialism and racial discrimination would be eclipsed altogether. The apartheid policy would receive a deadly blow at the hands of humanitarian and progressive forces. With the ushering in of a new era people would cease believing in sophistry and superstition, blind faith and fanaticism, skepticism and dogmatic uncertainty The clear river of reason would rule the minds of masses who are presently influenced by sham conventions and orthodox ideas. The old crotchets and conundrums would be replaced by the new ideas of enquiry and observation, thought and intellectual reasoning. Education and enlightenment would descend on the mass of humanity and a universal outlook and cosmopolitan character would be imbued in the people.

The social structure of mankind would also undergo a revolutionary transformation in the next two decades or so The womenfolk of backward countries would emancipate from the tyranny of custom and convention and would enter all the departments of human activity. Women would no longer be considered as an ornament to be confined in the four walls of the house but they would contribute their energies and efforts in the reservoir of reconstruction With the overall emancipation of women from the bonds of traditionalism and conventionalism, they would be guided by their own intellect and understanding and would no longer genuflect before their male counterparts Love would become a sacred and genuine passion. The chances of polyandry and polygamy would increase Sexual morality would be reduced to a farce. People would prefer to be most fashion minded and would like going near-nudism.

These are some of the breath taking changes that can be forestalled and foreseen. But the predictions refe-r

red to above are subject to the maintenance of power equilibrium. If there is peace, all such phenomena as are expatiated above are likely to happen. But if there comes world conflagration, through any agency or power-grouping, then the map of the world to come would be altogether different. The would-be war would be a nuclear holocaust which would destroy the victors as well as the vanquished Science, then, would really prove to be a Frankenstein's monster and the wheel of human progress would be reversed and would come near to the people of primitive times. The small human populace whatever is left would go into doldrums, in the slough of despondency. That indeed would be a tristful time with mopish and mumpish surroundings. The world after the nuclear war would be a torrid and horrid region almost deserted and barren.

But if nothing happens, and the present pace of progress continues, then this world, indeed, would be an ideal place to live in, with all comforts and facilities at its disposal. The shape of things to come depends upon the mind of humanity. The offshoots of science can be used for both the purposes. But let the oasis of sanity prevail in this world of streaming ideas and poisonous thoughts and humanity should work for the construction and advancement of human race. Then everything possible is in store for us but there would be certainly a decline and degradation in the sexual morality.

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83. KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

All what we see and experience in the name of culture and civilization is due to the acquirement of knowledge. Otherwise, this world without knowledge would have been a vacuum. So is the case with human beings. A man without knowledge is just like a straw which can be carried away by the drifts of the winds. But a man, who possesses knowledge, cannot be befooled, browbeaten and

bludgeoned by those who consider themselves as the *ne plus ultra* in knowledge.

Bacon's high sounding remark, "For knowledge, too, is itself a power" is thought-provoking. That knowledge makes powerful is indubitable, but it is also knowledge which makes the human mind sensitive and feels the itch of agony and anguish. A man who possesses knowledge can carve out his own destiny. He thinks over the problems confronting him and devises ways and means to tackle them to his advantage. It is only through knowledge that one differentiates between right and wrong, correct or incorrect, useful or unuseful. Knowledge is really a torch which illumines the deepest recesses of ignorance in human mind. Knowledge is a great weapon to fight injustice and lawlessness. If a man is devoid of any knowledge, he not only can be misled but even his rights and privileges are outraged by other knowledgeable people. An ignoramus cannot achieve success in his life, because he does not know the traits which can only be known through knowledge. For an aggramitist, there are only pitfalls and drawbacks in life. But for a person who possesses knowledge, all these difficulties and drawbacks can be overcome. Nobody can cheat him, rob him or mislead him. Knowledge, therefore, is a great guide in the stream of life. It is a protector and defender against all the storms of ignorance. It is a preserver of our rights and keeps us conscious of our duties and responsibilities. Knowledge does not allow to creep in our life some superstitious thoughts, obsolete customs and outdated conventions. It makes us believe in the faculty of reasoning and sound argumentation and does not make us the victims of ignorant thought.

Knowledge is very useful in our daily walk of life. A man of knowledge [illegible] in foreign lands without any hitch or hesitation [illegible]
and manners, histc [illegible]
man of knowledge [illegible]
meetings and other [illegible]
he dominates other [illegible]

learning. Such men have smooth sailing in their lives, while an ignorant man becomes the laughing stock of the whole world. Thus knowledge gives us power and an air of superiority over others. Britishers ruled over a great landmass of the world because of their knowledge and tact. The white races being possessed with store-houses of knowledge gained daring exploits and discoveries and dominated the backward and uncivilized races of the world. These colonial and imperial powers armed with sound knowledge and erudition robbed other countri s of their inherent potential strength and abundant resources and made them economically bankrupt and afterwards gave them the eternal stigma o backward nations. Their regimes and satrapies continued for centuries and centuries till there was the upsurge of knowledge and self-consciousness in the native populace. Our acquiring the consciousness of their responsibilities and duties, they shook off the roots of foreign hegemonies and thus paved the way for freedom and nationhood Even in the medieval courts, the priests and other religious divines used to enjoy power over their peoples and kings. This hierarchy of church used to hypnotise and wonder the dreges and general run of humanity only due to their scholarship and knowledge. Thus, it is only knowledge which is responsible for the progressive advance of the human kingdom.

Disraeli's adage that "The only good is knowledge and the only evil ignorance" has been proved on its own touchstone. He further says, "Ignorance never sett es a question." In the world of knowledge there is no room for superstition, sophistry and blind faith. In the spher of knowledge, there runs a clear stream of reason. A there was the increase of knowledge, the foundations c slavery were shaken, people realised their entity an achieved it. The proletariat classes got their rights fulfille from the capitalist employers because of their knowledg Knowledge is such a power that it can transform the ve face of earth without any violent revolution or blood-bat How Bacon was eager and zealous for knowledge wh he showed his anxiety to acquire it in the words, "I ta

all knowledge to be my province." In fact, the hunger for knowledge is insatiable. Knowledge is such a vast ocean that to fathom it has been the constant endeavour of human beings.

The vistas of scientific knowledge have been explored of late From the scientific knowledge human beings have transformed the entire economic and social structure of mankind. Scientists have penetrated into the innermost mysteries and secrets of universe. These explorations have helped a good deal in transforming the social and economic image of humanity. With the acquirement of scientific knowledge, they have brought other planets and heavenly bodies nearer to us The inter-planetary communication is the most far reaching achievement of the modern times brought about by scientific knowledge. This scientific knowledge has removed considerably the islands of poverty and human misery, the diseases and epidemics and has brought in its compartment innumerable amenities and facilities, comforts and inventions for humanity. What a fascinating application of knowledge ! Rather, it can be said that the whole world is governed by knowledge Knowledge is such type of property that no thief can steal it, no robber can rob it, no brute can destroy it, it is such a wealth.

Emerson vouchsafed, ' Our knowledge is the amassed [illegible] of innumerable minds." Really [illegible] no parallel. [illegible] of humanity. [illegible] is a potent [illegible]

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84. DAY-DREAMING

Every human being is the prisoner of day dreaming. Everyone, young or old, rich or poor, high or low, experiences day-dreaming. It is but human nature to pine for what is not in our reach. The sub-conscious layers of our mind are always busy in some lofty imagination, which is

beyond one's reach. Day-dreaming is nothing but forming images in our mind about some strange and paradoxical objects. The hours of life hang heavy on us, our attempts are frustrated, joy uncertain and consequently, life is miserable and full of melancholy. The moments of utter sadness and despondency always go on haunting our minds. All these stresses and strains on our mind compel us to resort to dreaming, nay, day-dreaming. We want to ride on the acme of fortunes. We begin to dream those things which are intractable and unapproachable and unattainable. This process of escaping from the stark realities of life to the world of fancies and fantasies, beauties and bounties and in the colourful dreamland is known as day-dreaming.

When we are transported into the eldorado of our dreamland, which is a wonderland, so charming and fascinating, enchanting and ennobling, elevating and exalting, pleasing and profound, that we feel ourselves in a state of ecstasy and rapture, in some heavenly abode, but all this is so short-lived and so momentous that it was like a bubble and our dreams are shattered. This dreaming process is not confined to the ordinary ones but even the extraordinary ones are the prisoners of this dream world. Kings and Princes, monarchs and queens of the world dream in their lives. Even the poets and peers, savants and sages great religious divines and mighty spiritualists experienced day-dreaming in the span of their lives

But what is the cause of this day dreaming? The causes are obvious. It fact, human nature is never contented and satisfied. There is no end to our desires and wants. Desires are infinite and they multiply with our fortunes The result is that human beings begin to soar in the highest regions of their mental make-up, in the lofty zones of their imagination Everyone begins day-dreaming and this day-dreaming is the expression of their wants and wishes. Many of us dream to become rich in no time, or to become renowned statesmen, or to be saviours of humanity. Others dream of conquering

highest mountains and peaks and other heavenly bodies.. There is a class of day-dreamers who only wish to rise like meteors to some position of power or glory. Such examples have been well worked out even in fiction. Shakespeare's 'Macbeth' is a mighty illustration of this dream mentality. Macbeth has been revealed through some supernatural solicitations, that he would become the king of Denmark. This revelation so perturbs Macbeth that he becomes all the more greedy to become the king. His over vaulting and overweaning ambition leads him to the desired end though after committing all the murders and brutalities Coleridge's 'Kubla Khan' is a dream-poem. The very description of Xandu and its misen-scenes are, as a matter of fact, studies in super-naturalism. The entire poem is a dream of Coleridge. It is a curious phenomenon to note that what was a dream yesterday has been turned into a reality today. This shows that day-dreaming is not altogether futile and waste. There were times when people used to dream for reaching the moon and other heavenly bodies. But today, the sputniks and rockets have translated the dream of yesterday into the realities of today and tomorrow. The inter planetry communication is an answer to those who use to say the other day that such dreamers as are dreaming to reach the moon and celestial bodies, are living in fool's paradise, Rather, dreaming.

We are such stuff
As dream are made of, and
Our little life
Is rounded with sleep

How true! how correct! this quotation asserted by the myriad-minded bard of England

But for my own part, I also revel in the dreamland. Humble as I am, I am even humbler in my dream My day-dreaming constitutes neither in achieving affluence nor position nor power. But I only dream of going away from the ignoble strife of this madding crowd to the

lmer, quieter and serene recesses of nature. To be way from this humdrum and hubbub of life, to be away om the noise and clamour of life, and to be in the eternal alm and blissful solitude of nature, where nature is in a neditative mood, where the scenic setting in the bosom of nature delights my mind and heart, to be in such a tranquillity and pulchritude of nature is the Everest and Kanchenjunga of my day-dreaming Thus I will not be maligned by the dust and din of the metropolis, by the grossness of this materialistic and mammon-idealistic world. I would be away from the lust and maligned pleasure of life. There I would live extremely and instinctively a good life under the roof of the sky, blessed by the sun and starry-heavens, fragrant flowers and the soothing words. There in the lap of nature, in the serene arcadian surroundings, I would enlighten myself by the objects of nature Nature would be to me everything because I believe in the couplet by Wordsworth :

One impulse from vernal wood
May teach you more of a man ;
Of moral evil and of good
Than all the sages can.

This is my day-dreaming which stands in sharp contrast from the other day-dreamers. Indulging in Utopean and Don-Quixotic ideas, I least like. My day-dreams are very humble, and very rational. They wil have a soothing effect on my mind which is muddled by the storm of ideas and hurricane of problems. It wil give me immense relief from the fever and fret of life which is almost the common woe of humanity. Thi indeed, is the day-dream, in which I revel pleasantl Just living in the make-believe world of our own imag nation and getting nothing is not keeping in with t spirit of times. Today we live in a world which governed by scientific ideas, scientific thought and sci tific civilization. Day-dreaming should be there, not the medieval type but of the modern times.

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85. THE TYRANNY OF FASHION

Fashions are not of recent origin. They are, age old and people go on living according to their environments and surroundings. The craze after fashions was a hall-mark of English society even during Renaissance. The flowering of arts and literature, the broadening of genius and the development of an enlightened outlook and refined cultural and civil habits made people to live in the swim of existing society. Fashions in dress were noticeable in England even during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries The opening of the centres of learning like Oxford and Cambridge sent a new wave, a new fervour [illegible]

the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. This current of fashion further flowed into eighteenth century, which is often remarked as an age of good sense and good living. Artificiality of life was the chief characteristic of this age. Frivolous fashions, blatant exuberance and outward gaiety were the dominant features of this age. It became a fashion in England to visit clubs and coffee-houses, cine- [illegible] Pope's "The [illegible] n the world of [illegible] ation, as was prevalent in the England of 18th century.

But making a diligent review of the trends and tendencies in the world of fashion of 20th century, the latter half of the 20th is so much steeped in fashion that people are spending a huge amount of their earnings on [illegible] make-ups and like habits. Young boys and girls [illegible] ing in colleges and universities are very, much [illegible] to fashionable frivolities. The designing [illegible] clothes has come like a stupendous achie[illegible] present times and almost every young boy [illegible] been attracted to it Girls have great liking [illegible] fitting salwars and sleeveless shirts. Boys have

susceptible to drain-pipe pants and multicoloured clothes. The making of puff by girls has also be ome very common This increases their height as well. In India, fashions are on the increase. No doubt, Hollywood and Paris are the originating centres but the winds of fashion sweep the shores of Bombay and Calcutta in no time. Bombay, being the seat of Indian filmdom, has really become the hub of fashion. The wave of fashion has reached Delhi, the capital of India, a big metropolis having a cosmopolitan outlook So Delhi presents a vivid picture of fashionable people in their fashionable dresses trimmed and cut according to the latest designs But it is a queer fact that the fashions change like day and night.

Modern fashions are not merely detriment for health but they also incur huge expenditure on parents. The tyranny of fashion has really made the families bankrupt. Parents have been reduced to paupers because of these everchanging fashions. The mill of fashion is grinding the people. White-collared class is the first victim of the fashions. A stroll in the evening of the fashionable centres of New Delhi like Queensway and Connaught Place, shows how the entire area presents a shining and dazzling spectacle of people's cavalcade who are adorned in the most scintillating, multi-lined and variegated dons of dresses.

Women are clad in their bare-faced blouses and exquisite sarees. Wearing topless dresses is also creeping into the realm of fashion. Girls wear such dresses which show a lot of girls. All their curves and frizzles are easily seen. Whether it is a case of exhibitionism is a different thing but such dresses certainly provoke the people of opposite sex. Acharya J.B. Kripalani, a veteran parliamontarian and seasoned leader, rightly but ruefully remarked the other day that wearing a tight-fitting dress and sipping a coca cola, has become a part of modern culture.

One of the baneful effects of this mass diversion has been that university youngsters pay so much heed to fashionable trends at the cost of their studies that leaves them

nowhere and in the long run, they repent and recant. They make a waste of that period which is considered to be the most formative period in the life of man.

In the name of fashion, we are bidding farewell to our long cherished ideas of culture and civilization. We have been very much influenced by the Western civilization. Anyth ng good, bad or indifferent, is passed in a joke under the garb of Western mode of living. Some Indians have been Europeanized in thought, outlook and mind. On the whole, the Western civilization has deeply influenced our way c [illegible]
nerisms in our life and [illegible]
good things but we mu [illegible]
bring degradation and deterioration to our society

What an irony it is that the ultra-modern fashions have removed humanity away from the path of simplicity and sobriety, which are the very guidelines of good and great people Fashions are coming at an alarming speed. Today's fashion gets out-moded and obsolete tomorrow Young boys and girls press their parents for the new dresses. In this age of sky-rocketing prices, parents have been reduced to utter penury simply to satisfy their children. The burden of fashion further burdens their pockets. With the result that they become financially weak and this tyranny of fashion grinds them. Films also have a potent influence on young boys and girls. They see the actors and actresses dressed in the latest and attractive style and so are they captivated.

Thus it becomes imperative to think for putting a check to this ala [illegible] ever-
changing world of [illegible] tten-
tion of immature [illegible] not
prove beneficial [illegible] In
fact, the tyranny of fashion at present is so great that there does not seem any way to put an early end to it.

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88. LANGUAGE PROBLEM

It is becoming increasingly clear that this language issue has churned up all the latent and lurking poison in our body politic which cumulatively has been responsible for our unfree condition in the past and which has kept us debilitated even after independence. While it would be wrong to suggest that language is the only force welding the inhabitants of a country into a well-integrated, homogeneous, indivisible nation, it cannot be denied that it is one of those very powerful factors which bring about the process of a nation's emotional integration. Love for one's language is a force of almost elemental origin and strength; it wells up directly from heart and is not normally amenable to the cold process of intellectual reasoning. Like relig on, it transcends political frontiers and keeps alive a sense of unity and oneness among groups which have been separated from one another by centuries of political cleavage.

But the question arises that of all the fourteen languages enshrined in our constitution, which language has most and wide appeal in masses as well as which language fetches the highest number of its speakers and writers. This question was discussed to blatant lengths by our Constituent Assembly. Just after independence the deliberations by our Constituent Assembly were agreed to by all the representatives from different parts of the country unanimously that Hindi alone carries the status and stature to be an all-India language. So the dateline for the imposition of Hindi was fixed as January 26, 19-5. Soon after this language became the official language constitutionally a direct development of a disastrous degeneration of a dirty drama was enacted in Madras, where the frenzied fanaticism of some fanatic forces raised their ugly head, which were aided and abetted, nurtured and nourished by the clever and crafty politicians, so as to suit their own political predilections, and proclivities. The morbid acts of vandalism were reported in newspapers. A furious mob of anti Hindi agitators resorted to loot and destruction of Government buildings

self immolations were also witnessed. The pious precincts of Sri Aurobindo's Ashram were desecrated and demolished by a hysterical mob of anti-Hindi agitators.

We need not go here into the noise some people are making against Hindi. Most of them are the very people who used to make the same sounds against movement for Indian Independence itself. They could not stop independence. And they are not going to stop Hindi.

The language problem in India is no doubt more difficult than anywhere else. Many other states are more or less unilingual. Switzerland is tri-lingual. But it is not impossible for men to learn three languages. And that solves their problems. Russia has many languages, but apart from Russian the other languages are not as widespread as our regional languages are. And that makes matters relatively simple for USSR.

The Indian Constitution has faced the difficult language situation in India squarely, and solved it realistically, by declaring Hindi as 'first among equals', to be the official language of the union, which is the best possible solution. To quarrel with it is to quarrel with facts.

We would have appreciated the critics' view better if they had shown greater love for their own mother language but it is not like this They love English more than their mother tongue. Nationalist India can have no sympathy with such footmen and flunkeys, stooges and sycophants of British imperialism.

"But the opposition to Hindi is purely political That is why life-long Hindi lover Rajaji has turned anti-Hindi. And that is also why *life-long Hindi-hater 'EVR'* has become a Hindi lover. Separatist forces like Muslim League and DMK are in the vanguard of the agitation". The erratic and misguided sons of India from South opine to them that their future is dark in case Hindi becomes the official language of India. They have already brought Vietnam in India. DMK did organise a

rally in which they described the 'imposition of Hindi' 'as unwise, unjust and discriminating tyranny. 'Apart from far-reaching results of disintegration of the country, Hindi programme would cause "delay, inefficiency and chaos" in every office.

"Perhaps the worst fear (or is it the best hope ?) of the DMK is that Hindi will lead to secession. A party which already gangs up with the defunct Muslim League and Communist Party has no particular qualification to speak about national integration, injustice and tyranny," says a press note.

And as for the possibility of chaos, we can do no better than quote Gandhiji who wrote :

"If I had the powers of a despot I would stop the tuition of our boys and girls through a foreign medium, and require all teachers and professors on pain of dismissal, to introduce change forthwith. I would not wait for the preparation of text books. They will follow the change! It is our evil what needs a summary remedy.

"The medium of instruction should be altered at once and at any cost, the provincial languages being given their rightful place. I would prefer temporary chaos in higher education to the criminal waste that is daily accumulating."

C. Rajagopachari, presently antogonist of Hindi, averred the forthcoming remark when he was Chief Minister of Madras in 1937, "that the moment we cross the border of Tamiland, we cannot help but speaking Hindi."

We quote Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyanger, Governor of Bihar, and former Speaker of Lok Sabha, while appealing to the people in the South "not to encourage the anti-Hindi agitation but learn Hindi which, he said, was in the best interest of the country. On it depends our national prestige and power and self-respect." And so are the views of innumerable scholars, educationists and lignuists of our country.

The fact is that Hindi movement has been launched by non-Hindi-speakers. Chronologically the great Swami Dayanand, the founder of Arya Samaj, was one of the staunch protagonists of Hindi as the national language in 19th century. He wrote his 'Satyarth Prakash' not in Gujrati but in Hindi He is followed by Bankim Chander Chatterjee, Lokmanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi.

Acharya J. B. Kriplani, the noted Congress leader and close associate of Pt. Nehru, recently gave a vehement and violent, scathing and sarcastic statement on the protagonists of English in which he vouchsafed that if there is any fanaticism in language, that is 'our love of English'. He further said that we speak to our dogs even in English.

So with this flood of facts, we cannot deny the place which Hindi deserves because of its rich and wide vocabulary, its lucidity and syntax and grammar which is quite akin to other regional languages.

The DMK's tantrums have forced Shri Bhaktavatsalam, the Chief Minister of Madras, to bracket it with Muslim League as "traitors", indulging in anti-national activities, which "the Government would not witness in silence". We love Tamilian's love for Tamil as we respect Bengali's love for Bangla and the Maharashtrian's love for Marathi But Independent India is not going to tolerate 'Love English—hate Hindi Campaign" of DMK and its fellow-travellers and camp followers.

To continue English is to continue the tyranny of two per cent. It is sometimes dished out that English is an 'International language'. The language in which Gautemala and Cyprus communicate is also 'international language'. What perhaps the advocates of English want to say is that English is a 'universal language'. But this is absolutely incorrect. International statistics and proceedings of the UN belie this contention.

Another agrument advanced in favour of English is that all the scientific knowledge is available only in that language. This argument usually appeals to our fashionable, but ill-informed young men and women. The fact remains that to-day technically and industrially the most advanced countries in the world are Germany and Japan. But English is not the medium of their technical know-how. So is the case with USSR and China Chinese have manufactured Atom Bomb with the help of Chinese books and charts and are expanding their frontiers !

But our elite delights in the retention of English and anglicism while Gandhiji used to say that English will have to go the way the Englishmen left. For them it is a sign of civilization. But at the same time it is just like a cross on which the community of students is being crucified. Dr. Ramdhari Sinha 'Dinkar', Vice-Chancellor of Bhagalpur University, lashed out on the protagonists of English in his speech to the Bhagalpur University senate and by presenting facts and figures proved that a large English percentage of failures in 'universities and colleges is because of English and English subjects, a language which they cannot comprehend.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, MP, remarked in Lok Sabha while speaking over the language controversy that "Incorect English can certainly become the official language of the country—even though there may be some difficulties in adopting it as our mother tongue.........".

Language cannot develop in vacuum or in Government files. It lives with the people. People live through it. From Jan. 26, 1965 and onwards we must resolve that we shall use only our own languages. That will be the turning point in our history. Hindi is the Big Facet of Indian life. Whether it is name plates, or signboards, private letters or simple conversation, it must be in some Indian language.

"In the beginning was the word"—so says a superb scripture about creation. Such is the importance of lan-

guage. Carlyle was asked about a century ago, whether he would like to have "Indian empire or Shakespeare'. Outbled the great writer, Indian empire or no Indian empire is a temporary phase. But if Shakespeare perpetuates, there will be English language, English culture and English civilization." Such is the importance of the language for a nation.

Let Hindi and other languages be the symbol of our national unity, national striving and national achievement. With this we would be looked upon with reverence and respect in the eyes of the world.

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87. SCIENCE AND HUMAN VALUES

If any one is asked to classify the present century, he would hardly hesitate to call it the scientific age because of the profound impact which science has made on the social and economic aspects of humanity. Humanity is greatly influenced by the discoveries and inventions in science Science has bestowed upon humanity innumerable comforts and pleasures. But the question arises, has science really added to human happiness or has it made life all the more miserable ? Is science a blessing or a curse to humanity ? How far has it gone in safeguarding human values ?

[illegible]

has provided the most wonderful contrivances for the good, profit and pleasure of humanity. Radio, telephone, television, wireless, electronic computers, and calculating machines have made the life of many easy and comfortable. It has greatly reduced the boredom and period of dullness. In medicine and surgery it has claimed the

highest heights. While in fields and factories, scien has immensely raised the production, it is out to rid of current diseases like cancer and poliomylitis just as the past it conquered small-pox and malaria. It h speeded the building of homes and has produced n and improved products for our own consumption. N it has raised our whole standard of life and cultu Science has made winters warm and summers cool. Wh the addition of rockets and sputniks has further enrich the museum of science, it is also enabling humanity explore and investigate the upper layers of the atm phere.

But with all this background, presentation of scienti pageantry, the main effect of science seems to ha increased threat to our security, even to our lives. Wh we talk of splitting the atom, it is the atom bomb tl booms up before us, not new power stations. When think of gas-turbine and jet engine we see it used in figh jets and super-bombers, not in ships, in power stati and in transport aircraft linking the world. Even medi research to save lives turns into its opposite in the biolo cal warfare. The Hiroshima episode was a barbar and brutal application of scientific knowledge. The of Sabre jets and supersonics during the war further pro the misuse of science. The use of contraceptives has provided only an illegitimate means of birth control it has provided a free play to sexual indulgence perh of the worst type. What an irony of fate it is that in sp of possessing better tools, surgical instruments and me cines than our ancestors ever had, we have still wea constitutions and poorer health !

Science glories in the invention of machinery machinery has become the master of man. No dou production is easy and efficient, but it has led to insa tary slums, large-scale un-employment and unfair dis bution of wealth. We worship mammon—the god

Wealth —and care very little for the correct values of life like literature, love, philosophy and arts. It is such a dead, dull and monotonous world which Aldous Huxley has vividly presented in his most famous satirical novel 'This Brave New World.'

Men like T. H. Huxley in the last century taught and believed that a wider understanding of nature would open for the mankind a great prospect of material and spiritual improvement. And two hundred years earlier Sir Francis Bacon had stated that the proper function of science was the 'relief of man's estate', and that 'true and lawful goal of science is to endow human life with new powers and inventions.' We see this very same attitude science preached, practised and propounded today with enthusiasm in all the socialist countries where people are using science to build for themselves a fuller and better life.

But the question where science has really elevated or jeopardised the human values is still haunting and hewing many minds. Has it really served human values or simply endangered them ? Prof. Bronowski brackets that science with humanities and tries to prove that science and humanity have always gone cheek by jowl. Science does influence our values or standards. Science, like arts, is a creative activity. "Both find sudden likeness and order in what seemed unlike .... Truth in science is like Everest, an ordering of the facts."

But still we can say that science cares least for human emotions and passions, human sentiments and institutions. Scientists have conquered the unconquerable forces of nature but they have failed to conquer human passions and weaknesses. Science has yet to conquer the ethical, [illegible] of life. I have been told by [illegible] illusion, [illegible] onalism; a mode of thought based on observed [illegible] being an operationalist, I must say science is [illegible] practised

by the scientists. But this is just the start of an answer. Further who and what are scientists? What motivates them? How do they act? If we prick them, do they not bleed; if we tickle them, do they not laugh; if we poison them, do they not die. No! scientists are men and women, not gods, not angels, not freaks, not magicians, not monsters, not sorcerers. They are amenable to all such processes which a common man undergoes. They are not supermen. The society of scientists is simple because it has only one purpose: exploration of the truth. Notwithstanding, it has to solve the problem of every society, which is to find a compromise between man and man. It must enthuse and encourage the single scientist to be independent, and the scientists in general to be tolerant. From these basic conditions, which form the prime values, there comes step by step the spectrum of values: dissent, freedom of thought and speech, justice, honour, human dignity and self respect.

We have seen the evolution of human values since the dawn of Renaissance. No doubt, there are some casuists, who derive them from the Middle Ages. But that world upheld neither independence nor tolerance, from which the human values are derived. For those who crusade against the rational and real, and receive their values from mystic mumbo-jumbo, forfeit their claim to these values of the mind. To explain this paradoxical view, I cannot help but quote the words of Albert Schweitzer in which, a religious man protests against the bastard mysticism in religion.

"Rationalism is more than a movement of thought which realized itself at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. It is a necessary phenomenon in all normal spiritual life. All real progress in the world is in the last analysis produced by rationalism. The principle, which was then established, of basing our views of universe on thought and thought alone is valid for all time."

So proud people have thought in all walks of life, since Giardano Bruno was condemned and cursed to be

ntists of
William
Gibbs
l prea-ched their crafts modestly and steadfastly. But their values of which they were the ardent votaries entered their ages despite the resistance put by the theocrats and theologians of that era.

All this go to prove that science, like other creative activities since Renaissance, has humanized our values. This is the human sum of the values of science. Science ization. Science has ruins of Hiroshima who out of frenzied The shame is to the mind of man which uses the creative instincts of science for the deterioration and human dignity.

In the realm of science there is no terminology like love, philosophy, culture, emotion and sentiment. Science is a systematic classification of experience based on enquiry and observation. Science dissects and then derives the result. It is based upon the faulty reasoning, upon the faculties of head and not upon heart. As our life values mostly appeal to heart, so, in the present state, science has still to learn to respect fully that human values like human passions and frailties, love and literature.

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88. SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION

Science may be generally defined as a body of laws regulating some department of nature, whether that is of physical ones, chemical ones, sociological ones or biological ones. But at a time when the whole world is at the mercy of science, the question about the existence of human civilization at once arises in the mind. We at once ask whether science has advanced our civilization or dragged mankind back to a new kind of barbarism. Is the

gress of science real or an empty doubt? Is Science ng to have a soothing and sobering effect upon this man civilization or threatens even the very raison d'etre this world civilization ?

Questions like these seem to arise doubts and anxieties my mind about the so-called advance of science. It eems in the words of a poet that knowledge comes but visdom lingers. Science educates intelligence but it eaves wisdom, emotions and passions, sentiments and ntuitions uncared for. Science has given man a vast sea of knowledge but it has not taught man how to turn it to advantage. It has given man monstrous strength and energy but his moral sense has remained as dwarfish as ever.

In this twentieth century, which is predominantly called an epoch of science, human civilization has undergone profound transformation. Science has altogether changed the man and his milieu. His life and living has been considerably changed because of the tremendous impact and influence of science. Modern civilization stands in a striking contrast to the civilization down the centuries. At this time humanity is well equipped with all the comforts and inventions, which scientific civilization has bestowed upon it. In the vista of transport and communication, it has reduced the meaning of the terms time and distance to insignificance.

While telephone, television, wireless are the means employed for the dissemination of news and views in a short time, in the sphere of health and hygiene science has also done wonders. Penicillin and streptomycin have done miraculous cures, while plastic surgery can transform an ugly woman into a beauty queen. Modern medicine has tremendously controlled diseases. The use of anaesthetics has enabled patients to undergo a severe operation without any feeling of pain. Cholera, small-pox, malaria plague and other dangerous diseases have deen conquere by science. The discoveries of X-Ray and the pheno menon of radio-activity has capacitated human beings t

locate the defects and distortions in the inner system
the human body. On the whole it has given innumerab
amenities and facilities to the modern man.

As a matter of fact, the future belongs to science a
scientists. Science has revolutionized the vario
fields of human activity and particularly the unde
developed and down trodden nations of the world a
pinning the future of their countries on the firm found
tions of science Science has become the base of country
industry, agriculture and various other fields. Atom
energy is the most outstanding feature of modern centur
It is many times more powerful than electricity. Atom
energy if channelised for the peaceful purposes th
human civilisation can transform the very socio-econom
structure of the countries. But Maxim Gorky sadly observ
"Science has taught us to swim like fish in the water a
to travel like bird in the air but how to live on earth w
don't know."

The state of this scientific civilization has been preser
ted by T.S. Eliot in his monumental document captione
'The Wasteland', The post-World War I civilization
Europe was a sterile civilization. It was such a morbi
materialistic and mammon-idealistic civilisation that it h
little concern for the real value of life.

But with all this plethora of pleasantries, which h
been bestowed upon this humanity, the question arises, d
all this medical knowledge trying to get rid of this worl
from death and disease ? Do all these inventions an
discoveries are used for the pleasure and profit of huma
nity? The answer is emphatic No! How can we forge
the inhuman and atrocious use of medical knowledge i
the 'Hitlerite Germany or the ambitious and sinister plan
of poison gas and bacteriological warfare. How this worl
can forget the savage and brutal bombing of Hiroshim
and Nagasaki. The use of Napalm Bomb over the igno
rants and innocent Vietnamese is quite fresh in ou
memory.

So we shall have to say while science on the one hand promises this humanity with all this paraphernalia of comfort and climate its destructive side is all the more awesome and awry. These Atom Bombs, Hydrogen Bombs, Nitrogen Bombs and Cobalt Bombs which are a matter of pride and strength for the Big Powers are but the instruments of mass destruction. The deadly and dreadful devastation of the two Japanese towns in 1945 was the peak of this scientific civilisation. The present scientific civilization is a complex phenomenon, a mystery, not so easy to unravel. This scientific civilisation is a hydra-headed monster. This monster is threatening the very existence of human race.

But the question arises who is to be blamed for this impending catastrophe: science or the mind of man. Scientist no doubt creates things for the benefit of humanity but it is the mad mind of man which uses these purely scientific and technical achievements for the eclipse of humanity. If these purely scientific gadgets will be misused by this world civilisation, then it will be dogged by the destiny. Humanity will have to meet the retribution. Let this pageantry of scientific progress be used for the elevation and enlightenment of mankind and not for its annihilation.

Thus, this nuclear civilisation will have to be cautious enough as not to misuse, misapply and mis-state the blessings of science, otherwise this humanity will be wiped out of its very existence by science, by science itself as 'Adam and Eve were driven out from the Garden of Eden for enjoying the forbidden fruit'. So decision will have to be made pretty soon before any bigger nation pulls the trigger and starts a holocaust which would be an immeasurable cataclysm for the whole mankind, otherwise we will have to repeat the old melancholy truth that "human history is the record of crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind."

Although, it was said by Mazzinni: 'Nations, like individuals, live and die; but civilisation cannot die.' This aphorism of the learned author has become controversial

in the present state of affairs, when the erudite philosophers, scientists and politicians of the world are unanimous in saying that the world war of nuclear weapons will sound the death-knell of human civilisation.

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89. FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY OF PRESS

Galsworthy once remarked didactically, "Our fate is really in the hands of three great powers—Science, Finance, and the Press."

While the author in the forthcoming study will focus his attention primarily and predominantly on the role and importance which press has played in shaping, designing and moulding the ideological, political, social, cultural and economical frontiers of various nations, Science and finance have already amazingly transformed the structure of society so multilaterally, that it becomes difficult for the layman to make a proper comprehension of it, and least to control it.

As George Mason would have it, "The freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty and can never be restrained but by despotic governments"—is really a literary gem of deep insight and knowledge. Press has the role to play specially in a democratic society in order to reveal and reflect the nuances in the thinking of the individual and the state. Democracy is the profound evolution of a recipe which combines the tastes of the individual freedom and a well-organised society. It is essentially this phase of human life that newspapers are the indi[illegible] a democracy, of a real [illegible] we have presently before [illegible] masquerading as a guided democracy here and basic democracy there.

But in a country like ours, where democracy has deeply entered into its social and political structure, it will be a subject of tremendous interest to make a diligent analysis

of the performance of the press and the freedom that it enjoyed in our country right from its very inception. It is the very medium of mass communication of news and views between the individual and the society. And as the literacy rate is growing, this process is becoming more and more real. Newspaper, therefore, has become the very life of society, nay, the spice of democracy.

In this epoch of bewildering flux of ideas and deadening specialisation, newspaper is the only thing that brings man with his milieu. All the events and incidents, international and national, scientific, social, cultural, political and literary can be read in the newspaper. Rather press covers the entire panorama of our life and living, that is why it has been rightly termed as the Fourth Estate.

Press wields a great impact and influence upon the people. If we delve deep down the twentieth century and peep into the pages of the history of our independence movement, we shall come to know as to how far the press has gone in disseminating the turbulent ideas and the cross-currents of contemporary thought in the minds of the teeming millions of our country. Masses of our country were educated and informed, to a great extent, through newspapers. The strident calls for the freedom of our motherland reached down the throats of our masses through press. It was and is an effective means of propaganda. On the whole, apart from the veterans and leading lights of our freedom movement, the newspapers were the guiding angels for the massive masses of our country. All the trials, troubles, tribulations and tragedies, which the phalanx of our intellectual, devoted and dedicated leaders' underwent, at the hands of the despotic and tyrannical alien government, came to the limelight of the public mainly through press.

Even at this time, when India is the largest democracy in the world, the press is really at its pedestal, which it deserves in a democracy. Ours is a free press having full and free right to purport and propound, preach and

practise whatever ideology it likes. Our press presents in a disinterested and detached way the policies and programmes of our government. It resorts to genuine criticism as well whenever it thinks that the certain policy adopted is not in the enlightened interest of the nation. But the freedom which a press enjoys in a democratic country must not be misused by it simply in a bid to satisfy the ulterior motives of an individual or a section of the community. Press must not resort to the provocation of the sentiments or the emotions of the various sections of our populace which if allowed can prove detrimental and disastrous for the nation. Press has got a great responsibility on it as well. It must guide the individual and the society on real, rational and progressive lines and must not cater to the low level. Press can play a decisive role in bringing about the national integration.

As James Ellis says, "Newspapers are the world's mirrors" and so they should actually present the real image of a thing, idea and not the distorted or blurred one. The very concept of 'the freedom of press' is one of superstitions of modern times, because at its best, the press is the servant and a custodian of institutions ; at its worst it is a means by which a few exploit social disorganisation, the ignoramuses, the illiterate and ignorant masses to their own ends. Freedom of the press does not imply freedom for every one to express his own opinion but what [illegible] and journals, books and [illegible]

Press is the mouth-piece of the public opinion. We rather live in the world of press and morning newspapers. Everyone is anxious to know early in the morning about the latest trends and tendencies prevalent in the realm of politics, education, business and science. It is the main organ of propaganda in the world of to-day. It presents the things in their proper perspective. News and truth must be presented in a detached and dispassionate way. Walter Lippman, a renowned American journalist, is of the opinion that 'news and truth are not the same thing, and must be clearly distinguished." The function of

news is to sound the note of an event while truth is to bring to light the hidden and underlined facts and thus to make a picture of reality of which human beings are to act. This axis can well be explained in the words of Horace Greeley who rightly says: "The best use of a journal is to print the largest practical amount of important truth,—truth which tends to make mankind wiser, and thus happier."

Now I will throw some light on the role of the press in the capitalist countries. By the conspicuous paradox of capitalism, the mechanism which really served to assert a real liberty, became with the passage of time the instrument of a new bondage. During the first quarter of nineteenth century, the independence and seriousness of a newspaper attracted the advertisers having their own free tastes while in the twentieth century the necessity of attracting advertising revenue has become of first importance. As our economic system has undergone a change, expenditure on advertising is no longer in the control of the individuals, but of corporations,—a phenomenon which mars the prospects of journalistic independence. In our country we have press representing various shades of opinion and ideological thought-streams. But it is still exhorted to the press-lords of our country to maintain the standards of democratic journalism, which, no doubt, has become a matter of rare existence. With the offshoot of ideologies in this twentieth century, some termed as state socialism, dictatorial socialism, national socialism or democratic socialism the freedom of the press has really met with a retarding pace amidst the jungle of these confusing political systems. In totalitarian and anthoritarian countries, press is the kept press of the Government, while in the countries having a democratic form of government, press has also undergone a revolutionary change and portion of it resorts to the preaching of yellow journalism which is of base interest to the masses in a democratic country. Under the able guidance of our first Prime Minister of free India, Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru, the champion of democracy and freedom of the

press, both have strong roots in our country. He solved the problems of democracy with more democracy, as the saying goes "The cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy"—a maxim to which Pt Nehru stuck so dearly and solidly. He believed in Wendell L. Willkie's concept that "freedom of the press is the staff of life for any vital democracy."

In the end a superb saying of F.D. Roosevelt is worth quoting,

"Freedom of conscience, of education, of speech, of assembly are among the very fundamentals of democracy and all of them would be nullified should freedom of the press ever be succesfully challenged."

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90. SCIENCE AND RELIGION

Science and religion, as a matter of fact, are two incompatible and inconsistent modes of human thought. While the former has in its domain all the qualities and characteristics to undergo analysis, experimentation, observation and inference, the latter is based on blind faith and fanaticism superstition and sorcery. Science is based on the faculty of reasoning and ratiocenation, on concrete facts, while religion is nothing but dogma and bigotry or according to Bertrand Russell, "The conflict between religion and science was quite as much a conflict between authority and observation." Thus from the above elaboration and elucidation it is quite clear that the existence of the one is a threat to the other. Science and religion are diametrically opposed in ideology So arises the question mark. That in this age, which is dominated by science, and scientific ideas, scientific method and the scientific thought, what place religion has got in the modern times? Is science out to out religion? With the overriding influence of science on the 20th century, religion seems to have gone into the limbo of oblivion.

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Modern age can aptly be designated as scientific age. This world has witnessed significant and spectacular changes of great insight brought about by science. The entire human life and living has undergone tremendous transformation. People have become more critical in their outlook and shun and eschew all the canons, customs and conventions. Science has immensely explored the innermost mysteries and secrets of the universe and has established new theories and new postulates acceptable to all. It asks not to believe in the stupid stories of witch-craft and sorcery, of ghosts and apparitions. The history of the progress of science down the centuries is a dismal record which science has met at the hands of the religionists and revivalists, Popes and prelates. The hierarchy of Church was opposed to all the new ideas given by the intellectuals of those periods. There had been a consistent tussle between the followers of religion and that of science in Europe. The offshoot, of new ideas and new inventions created a stir in the realm of religion. Any new idea used to meet the wrath of the philistines and pagans. The history of human advancement and learning is a story of intrigues and brutal behaviour which scientists in the last two or three centuries faced at the hands of presbyters. There were imprisonments and executions, rapine and ravage which the movers of new ideas met at the altar of Church. The early Church regarded Bible as the only true scripture and whosoever went against the Biblical school used to be put to all the privations and hardships, tribulations and tragedies. Even during the nineteenth century, science and scientists were not very much respected. It was an age of doubt and suspicion, of uncertainty and confusion, of traditionalism and conventionalism, an age of brute crotchets and conundrums which were practised by the majority of the Victorians.

The above substantiation only serves to prove the prevalent conflict between these two thought tributaries of human knowledge. As the learning came amongst people, they began to feel the fresh fervour in the latest trends and tendencies in the human development. The enlightened

sect became automatically susceptible to cross currents and powerful waves of scientific civilization. With the passage of time the forces of religion and established authority considerably weakened due to the immense influence of this systematic thought over the elite of the time.

The liberation of the individual during Renaissance and Reformation set the industrial revolution in motion; in its course industrialisation has given people new freedom and greater opportunity. It provided the people with material splendour and all the requirements which made the life of the individual more comfortable. They disentangled themselves from the coils of religion, which they ultimately came to regard a useless creed. The madiaeval society was theoretically founded on irrationalism, dogma, where the rod of reason had to fight long for its recognition. It is because of this application of reason to the external world that the civilized and cultured man owes his evolution from the savage. While in a scientific society, the method of reason is the only recognised basis of the whole social scheme, because science is organized knowledge and does not allow to creep in its hierarchy irrational and irrelevant notions. As science is the search after truth, so this truth came to be respected. This was the very cornerstone of Sir Francis Bacon's philosophy. According to Bacon, nature could be understood and mastered by observing facts, recording them and tabulating them and arriving at conclusions after studying and analysing them carefully.

Thus a man like Bacon, the child of Renaissance or Revival of Learning (often called the Father of British Science) honoured facts and shunned superstition So is the case with the twentieth century intellectuals These intellectuals have relegated religion, give it secondary importance and go by the scientific method and science which is out to remove the *obstinate evils* like death and disease, illiteracy and ignorance, penury and other natural havocs with which humanity is terribly afflicted.

cience is against dogmas or doctrines taught by religion or any other authority as true"—thus wrote H. G. s, the renowned writer on scientific romances. So is present flux of scientific ideas which have changed world beyond recognition, which have made human ngs well conscious that forces of religion have become te and outworn.

As long as men remained tied to dictums and dogmas d believed in the revelation rather than investigation d observation, men remained bogged down in mystery nd darkness. As man disentangled himself from this oke of religion, he has been straddling on the path f progress. To test this one has only to cast a glance ver the entire gamut of history of human civilization. Not only in the field of technology, but also of religion, ethics, art of social relationship, scientific ideas and scientific methods have helped its progress. Thus arises the necessity to adopt this outlook today.

Today, there is one human characteristic which can find a mode of expression in war and nationalism, and which, it may seem, would have to be completely denied in a scientific society. That is the tendency to find some dogma to which can be attached complete belief, forthright, unquestioning. That human beings do experience a need for certainly such a kind can scarcely be doubted. As Voltaire vouchsafed, "If there is no God, we will have to invent him" And, for science, it is certainly a difficult task, since scientific belief is a quantitative affair.

Religion has helped to a great degree in the development of humanity. It has laid down values and standards as well and pointed out principles for the guidance of human life but at the same time has checked the truth and spirit of free enquiry and observation. But scientific applications are unavoidable and inevitable for all people and all countries. In the words of Pt. Nehru, "It is the scientific approach, the adventure yet critical temper ... the search for truth and new knowledge, t

refusal to accept anything without testing and trial, the capacity [illegible] is, postulated and [illegible] e of new evidence, [illegible] on preconceived theory, the hard discipline of the mind—all this is necessary not merely for the application of science, but for life itself and the solution of its many problems......

The scientific approach and temper are, or should be, a way of life, a process of thinking, a method of acting and associating with our fellowmen."

From the above expatiation and elucidation, it is obvious that the modern scientific society is a society which abhors the superstitious nostrums and dogmas, and believes in the process of intellectual reasoning. In this situation, relegion will have to bow to this cogent reasoning, overwhelming and far reaching consequences of this least sceptical and most reasonable civilization.

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91. DELHI IN HISTORY

Gazing through the hazy past, the history of Delhi is a mixed record of construction and destruction. It arose and crystallized umpteenth time upon the smouldering ruins and stagnant heaps of fast decaying satrapies. In order to bring this significant city to their own faith many invaders inavaded and intruded it ruthlessly and mercilessly. But this ancient city of India weathered all the storms and blizzards of the tyrant aggressors and invaders, and still stands before us as a shining monument reminiscising the bravery, chivalry, gallantry and heroism of our ancient national rulers and leaders. Delhi was the focal point during the centenary celebrations of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1962. Traditionally and historically, archaeology and written history have combined to bestow upon Delhi an antiquity matched by few cities of the world who have a hoary past in their background.

The paraphernalia of Delhi's history dates back to th 12th century A.D.—a period of over seven centuries whic

saw the city grow into Rome of the East with its sublime ruins and magnificient monuments. But if we really want to make a diligent perusal of Delhi's history, we must delve deep into the dim, distant past, about which the knowledge of historians and historiographers and archaeologists is still incomplete. And what is more stimulating about Delhi's archaeology is the evidence which points to an antiquity older than written history. So the archaeologist may well come to the aid of the chronicler in order to reveal and reflect the wealth of valuable details about the dark and dismal periods of Delhi's history.

The available evidence goes to prove that Delhi is linked to the Indraprastha of the Epic Age. The existence of some ruined relics in and around Delhi are believed to be the scenes and sites of prehistoric cities. The mound on which stands Purana Qila, the 16th century fort with its broken battlements and crumbling walls and falling plaster is a standing monument to our assertation. Perusing Mahabharata, we come to know that this Purana Qila was situated in Indraprastha—the city of Pandavas—though this source throws little light as regard to the site and location of this ancient city but there is one common belief that it was situated on the bank of Jumna.

Turning again to Indraprastha we find that after the Pandavas' decisive victory at Kurukshetra it was abandoned suddenly in favour of Hastinapur. Then there looms the dark age of Delhi's history.

In between India witnessed the emergence of Mauriya Emperors and the historical monuments erected in this period, *i.e.*, in the reign of Ashoka in 3rd century B.C., throw little light on the history of Delhi, but they do confirm the view that the city that occupied Delhi's site was of little importance at that time. A popular theory is put forward by the historians of the modern times that present Ashoka pillars in Delhi—one in Feroz Shah Kotla and the other on the Ridge, near Hindu Rao Hospital—were brought here by Feroz Shah Tughlak in the 14th century.

Travelling on this sea of time we reach to the days of the Gupta kings. Chandragupta II Vikramaditya is of special interest as he is associated with one of Delhi's earliest known relics. The pristine past of Delhi emerges from the abyss of antiquity through an inscription on the world famous Iron Pillar which stands majestically close to the Qutab Minar This inscription remained a mystery for years till the experts and zealous history researchers decided it was in Gupta script and dated back to the 4th century A D. The inscription on the Iron Pillar refers to King Chandra but does not mention a precise date. But relying on the circumstantial evidence, it is believed that the creator of the 1600 year-old pillar is Chandragupta II Vikramaditya, as he was the ruler in Northern India in the 4th century A.D.

The second inscription on the same Iron Pillar—though in Nagari script and is attributed to the 14th century—confirms the bardic tradition that Delhi was the capital of Anangapal, a Rajput, most probably in 11th century A.D. There is one place of interest, a few miles to the south of the present city, known as Suraj Kund. This relic is associated with Anangapal and his son Surajpal.

The interlude of some 600 years that separates the reigns of Chandragupta II and Anangapal, is a missing chapter in the history of Delhi Moreover, the city has no significant place in the list of places ransacked by Mahmud of Ghazni who invaded, robbed and looted this country 17 times during the first quarter of 11th century. One intelligent belief is cooked that it was this fear of his spate of invasions that drove Anangapal to the remote and rocky wildernesses of Suraj Kund.

The accidental discovery of some blocks of sculptured red sandstone in 1961 created immense interest in archaeology which may irradiate on the dark age extending from the 4th to the 11th centuries A D. The very art and architecture and workmanship indicated that these relics give a clue to the 6th or 7th century A.D. Another discovery was a piece of railing, Buddhist in origin, so still older.

One fact still remains to be established. Whether the tomb of Prince Nasiruddin Mahmud, eldest son of Sultan Iltumish—was fashioned out of an earlier Hindu or Buddhist building, or that stones from temples and other buildings were used in the construction of the crypt and its enclosures. Whether it is really a converted Hindu Monument. It was prevalent practice in those days for the victorious dynastics to build their edifices out of the remains of the buildings which they demolished. Temple pillars forming the colonnades in the cathedral mosque near the Qutab Minar today even bear testimony to our viewpoint.

Prithvi Raj was the last of kings in Hindu tradition, whose defeat at the hands of Muhammad-bin-Quasim in 1193 A.D., heralded the advent of Muslim rule in India; and with it too, the annals of Delhi passed from the realms of legend and archaeology into the poignant pages of written history.

Some interesting light has been thrown by some historians of the modern times who say that most of the present historical monuments are converted ones and pre Muslim. Qutab Minar has been proved to be a Hindu monument and was known as Vishnu Dhawaja in those days. So is the case with the Red Fort. Mr. P. N. Oak, Director, Institute for re-writing history, has belied the established claims and has proved some of these relics to be of Hindu colour or complexion. These monuments have undergone, like the Hindu community, during the Muslim rule, proselytization and conversion, so as to suit the ends, whims and motifs of foreign conquestadors.

The sun of Mughal Empire set and Delhi ceased to be the Imperial City with the death of Mohammed Shah in 1748. The wreckless exploitation and loot brought about by the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali brought death and devastation to Delhi. Delhi afterwards became the halcyon seat of princelings of a faded dynasty till 1875. The last Mughal ruler was dethroned and the British Queen was proclaimed as Empress of India.

During the Delhi Darbar of 1911, King George V announced the shifting of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi. New Delhi became the seat of the Government. On the transfer of power to India in 1947, the country was partitioned which brought in its wake trouble, torture and tragedy, bloodshed, arson, murder and loot. People flocked to Delhi and Delhi had to be expanded and more constructions made. It became the seat of the national government, foreign missions, and trade centres. It has now become the heart and brain of India.

Such then is the romance of Delhi. Its historical romanticism from the medieval and middle to the modern times is variegated and sometimes colourful The decline, fall and growth of D-lhi since the dawn of history has been the silent feature of this city. It is a historical memento on the reel of time. Delhi indeed, is a treasure-chest of antiquity. It is a puzzling blend of ancient and modern, of Moghul battlements and ruined relics. Exquisite, indeed, is the history of Delhi.

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92. THE IMPACT OF SCIENCE ON SOCIETY

"The strides which discoveries in the physical sciences [illegible] *two hundred* [illegible] the world, but [illegible]."—thus spoke our first President of the Indian Union, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, after being overwhelmingly impressed and influenced by the glorious advancement of science.

But the above remark sums up one aspect of the progress of humanity, but how far science has gone in stabilising the society will be discussed in the forthcoming stanzas.

Science, on doubt, has changed this world beyond recognition in the preceding one hundred and fifty years—by providing the human society all the possible comforts and an easy mode of living, by reducing the number of

working hours, by increasing the and yield in fields due to the superior ques, fertilizers etc. Tractors have taken thousand farmers, while electricity and have simply replaced the old energy ents like coal and steam; the atomic times more powerful than the energy from coal etc. Science takes great pride machinery while the latter has become the Man, who is the creator of the loses his control over the scientific coming a slave of the instrument—a genius. That machinery can at any time the scientist. Thus humanity finds in tein's monster.

So to what all this expatiation of points ? Machinery has certainly but it has led simultaneously to the slums, large-scale unemployment and bution of wealth Moreover with the techniques in agriculture and the flo revolution, men have become enormously Science has also increased population. In by machinery, fertilizers and improved increased the yield per acre and the yield labour. This is a direct effect. So this has also made this scientific society a population is not checked there is every lowering of the standard of life in what perous countries. So the nations which increasing rapidly, should be encouraged methods as to check the increase of pop educational propaganda could achieve this policy will be opposed by religion The other course left is war. But the also too terrible and horrible.

All this has been well answered by who would have been a king in Plato's ing to him, birth control, infanticide

tive wars can achieve our purpose of making a scientific society stable He further goes and asserts that until and unless there is a world government scientific society cannot be stable.

But this conclusion is too hasty to be believed momentously. Such a suggestion as is put forward by Russell is impracticable in the present context of world policies. First of all it is difficult to create an international authority. It is an equally difficult task to have such unpopular duties.

So, in this world of frozen thoughts and unkempt emoitions it is a great question before the humanists and sociologists to bring about a proper international understanding or to face the effects of physical sciences which have gone to the extent of producing destructive weapons of war like long range artillery, Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles and the nuclear bombs. This society will have to find a modus operandi for solving all the national and international disputes peacefully and amicably otherwise the conflicting and contending ideologies of the rival blocs will compel the politicians to release the missiles, which if released, are beyond the control of man to bring them back, thus eclipsing the society. Then this modern world will again be dubbed by historians and social reformers as the world of morbid medieval monstrosity As we have already achieved a signal success over medical problems and industrial and technical problems, so we should also achieve our social problems and then this world has least to fear from the world conflagrations, widespread poverty, hunger and large-scale crime. Once we will have to inculcate and imbibe in humanity a spirit of scientific humanism, of universality of thought and also to make the mankind believe the adage "that all mankind are my brethren. whole world is my country and to do good is my religion". Then all these stockpiles of latest weapons of war possessed by the rival world blocs can be reduced to unimportance and insignificance. Then these A-Bombs, H-Bombs and long-

range missiles will deserve their place in some museum of antiquity to be seen by humanity as the objects of scorn and hate.

In this conflict-torn and hag-ridden world, the mentalities of the people have become war minded and people only think as to where they can create the deadly belt of uninhabitable land. The Anglo-Americans will talk of finding and searching some place in Russia or its satellites and vice-versa. It is this mad mentality which is fraught with dangerous consequences and if remained unchecked will put the humanity on the path of perdition. For counteracting this sinister mind, there will have to be the inculcation of international behaviour and culture as well as to remind the warring mentalities of the graveyards, which modern science, because of the failure of human wisdom, has created in the past. The ruined relics of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the woeful cries of the innocent dead ones are still bespeaking and exhorting the modern monsters not to pull their triggers of their wicked and inhuman weapons and thereby avoiding the toll of human civilization. Hiroshima is a monument of suffering and sorrow, of death and devastation, of victimisation and annihilation on the stage of this scientific civilization. Hiroshima is a mole of death on the cheeks of modern scientific civilization.

Science has a vital role to play in the uplift and elevation of under-developed, under-fed, under-nourished and submerged nations of the world. Science must be harnessed for the profit and pleasure of mankind and not for its extinction. Science has to play a vital role in the defence and development of the nation and all the scientific resources must be tapped to put the country on the road of peace, progress and prosperity and then this scientific society can heave a sigh of relief. Otherwise, if the blessings of science are applied for destructive purposes, then this scientific society will be sounding the toxin of its own demnation, doom, death and destruction.

The impact of science on the modern society is tremendous and stupendous. Science has changed the entire structure of the modern society. It has brought the society out of the slough of superstition and dogma and has placed it on the sound rock of reason. This scientific society is no longer a believer in the old stories of ghosts and apparitions, magic and sorcery. Rather, science has revolutionised the present society though science has also harmed to some extent the modern society by creating such conditions, which augment the obstinate evils like unemployment and industrial capitalism.

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93. THE GREAT DUST-HEAP CALLED HISTORY

Before making a searching study of the whole progress, it is extremely important to know as to what history means. What history is? History means different things to different people According to Ernst Teller 'History is the propaganda of victors'. To Carlyle, 'History is a distillation of rumour'. To Sir Robert Walpole, 'All history is lie'. In the words of Gibbon, "History is indeed little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind." But a lucid analysis of the meaning of history is made by Prof. Arnold Toynbee, a leading historian of modern times, who opines, 'History is the clash of cultures, where the older decadent one overcomes the primitive brutal one and *vice versa*'.

With this exposition of the term history, it can be said that all have their own view-points about history. But, broadly speaking, history is the record of man's past [illegible] doings and deeds. Every subject

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that of political history, history of philosophy, history of literature, history of economic thought and there are other histories of peoples, institutions and races. In the books

of the past, there used to be a wide interest in depicting the actions of kings and queens, the battles they fought, the glories they won, the victories they achieved and the defeats they suffered. But in this age of economic uplift and enlightenment, the point of interest is not simply exploring the deeds and adventures of past princes and kings, their revelries and enjoyment, but the emphasis is laid upon studying the history of peoples, their way of life and to draw from the study, the very essence of whole reading, i e., to know the ways and means by which we can improve society, make their living conditions better, to raise the standard of living and ultimately to learn from the lessons of history. History should not be merely treated as an exploration in the dim and distant past, but it means to learn and correct our stands. History is the very guiding angel for posterity. It is certainly a pole star for the humanity. History is the very torch-bearer to the coming generations We must learn from the mistakes which man committed in the past and sounded themselves the death knell of their own races, peoples and institutions. Hegel was right when he said in his famous epigram: "Mankind learns only from history, but we learn nothing from history. Lessons of history have not been properly practised and understood. That is why history repeats itself," because men repeat their past mistakes. A history which does not serve as lesson mankind cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be called history. It has no particular qualifications to dub it by the term history. Such history has nothing but to be called a 'great dust heap', a 'garbage'. It is of no use to resort to debate or discussion over this issue, because that will yield barren discussions and useless controversies.

But the most striking subject of study in the modern times is the history of ideas, the ideas that really moved and stirred the whole world since the dawn of human civilization to the most modern times. And H.G. Wells, the renowned author of scientific romances, is unanimous with us. when he says in his "The Outline of History", "Human history is in essence a history of ideas."

The history of ideas which has extended its horizons from the primordial times to the present is of immense value and use for human kind. It is from the mistakes that the profound philosophers of ancient times, the scientists and psychologists, the law givers and lexicographers, the grammarians or galaxy gazers, the astrologers or astronomers, the political idealists and social reformers have achieved the present progress in the various fields. There is a school of thought which opines that it is of no use resurrecting and reviving dead bodies for they cannot come to life again. Perhaps these people are only thinking about political history but even that can also guide respective social systems of the country as regards to their attitude to the other foreign governments. We tried to be friendly with China in the fifties and extended ours all that we could, but the heightened and enlightened sage of India, Swami Vivekananda, made a prediction as early as 1898, when he said, "If and when British leave India, there is every possibility of China invading India'. His political idealism or his proper understanding of Chinese past history has been proved true to the test of time, when China deluded and deceived India, by launching a massive invasion of India in 1962. Swami Vivekananda's vision and political sagacity was derived from the fact that the modern Chinese [illegible] but descendants of [illegible] murderers of their [illegible] of history for man who is quite conscientious in learning the lessons of history from the mistakes of the past rulers and leaders and mistakes are the fulcrum upon which the process of life moves.

There was a mode of thinking which laid special emphasis on the history of facts and figures. *For, facts and figures are susceptible to change while ideas are eternal, changeless* Ideas never die So a *comprehensive* study of the history of the outstanding men and *ideas can* be of immense use to the present [illegible] Because only [illegible] footprints on [illegible]

they contribute in the treasure knowledge of world which raises man above the status of animals. Such leading luminaries can be found in every country and in a country like India which has been the hearth and home of profound ideas, intellectual doctrines, the very cradle of first class civilization of the world. The number of such peers and prophets, songsters and sculptors, dancers and dramatists, poets and prosewriters, artists and architects, priests and patriots, musicians and magicians, evolutionists and essayists, astronomers and astrologers, historians and historiographers, political pundits and press-lords, social scientists and psychologists, nationalists and novelists, heroes and heroines, bold thinkers and learned authors and so on and so on, is really startling. Their contributions have vastly enriched the Indian heritage which will always be instructive and interesting in the ages to come.

As a great poet has said, 'everything has got a moral if only you can find it' sounds correct. Even the history of battles, military campaigns and bloody wars is instructive. The great military campaigns of Guru Gobind Singh, Rana Partap, Shivaji and Napoleon have been of great use to the generals and the recent victory of India over Pakistan can be well attributed to the courageous commanders of Indian Armed Forces. So are the wars of Ramayana and Mahabbharata. The tactics and strategy evolved by Lord Krishna have won eulogies from writers because of his bravery, chivalry and political sagacity. In the tent of war, history has not proved to be a scrap-heap. Almost every book on military strategy is historical in character.

The entire history of the evolution of ideas should be studied in its proper perspective. The long-standing conflict between the scientists and religious priests in the west has long been settled and due place given to the ideas of Galileo, Copernicus and other scientists, who, no doubt, underwent sufferings, troubles and tortures at the hands of the established church authority.

Philosophy has been such a branch of knowledge that there were [illegible]. The very [illegible] theories [illegible] committed. If we had refused to study their great ideas, their contributions to science, we would have been still at the cock crowing and morning star. We would have been at the same stage of mental, social and scientific development as we were in the primitive times.

Merely studying the historical process would not pay us dividends. Something constructive should be done. Only those things which have passed through the mesh of time without any substantial loss need to be remembered and applied for the greatest good of humanity.

One should always look towards history as his lighthouse whether he is a [illegible] nist, a [illegible] then [illegible] ners.

Historical experience has much to teach us, to instruct us. Political history can show us the path to be adopted for the political system for our country. An assiduous study of the social, cultural, racial, and idealistic histories can be of tremendous use to us. Let it not be too late to learn the lessons of history, otherwise we shall have to remember the same old melancholy truth that human history is the register of the records of the crimes follies and misfortunes of mankind, as Gibbon would have it.

94. THE JOY OF READING

To read books is to know more, to learn more. It is reading which [illegible] Rea[illegible] some [illegible] exer[illegible] read to remove boredom and weariness, which they come across in their busy life. But to me reading gives so many pleasures and profits. It elevates my area of learning and knowledge. Books are to some

people their friends, with whom they converse and enjoy. Rather the whole world system is to a larger extent controlled by books, whether it is politics, science, or any other field of human activity, that is why someone has wisely remarked, 'Whole of this world excepting savage nations is governed by books.'

The interest in reading to many is from the very beginning and they are accustomed to it, but for which their life becomes dull and dead, morbid and monotonous. If one comes across a good book in his life, it gives him added joy and pleasure which one cannot find from other sources. A good book is the panacea for all his ills. It gives him mental and intellectual satisfaction. It widens the mental make-up of his mind. Most of the world personalities are made out of books.

So reading various types of books increases one's versatility. Apart from this, reading is a joy for some people, which in turn is nothing but injections of happiness and health. A man who is deprived of books, but is a first class lover of books, will go in a state of melancholy and sadness. Nothing will be enchanting to him. Every object will have a boring effect on him. A book is a friend to friendless, companion to companionless and cheer to cheerless. It rejuvenates and reinvigorates his life, though it is a different question which types of books one likes to read.

As it is said, "making books there is no end and too many books are weariness of flesh". So it is difficult to mention the variety of books. But even then, every man has his own taste for books. Some like highly philosophical books, some classical, while others think that romantic reading will quench their emotional and sentimental thirst. While for others, the reading of political, social and economical books will enhance the degree of their knowledge and will give them intellectual satisfaction.

According to renowned critics and writers of great classics, the object of art is to delight and instruct mankind, so is my conception of reading books. While

reading, both the purposes should be served. Reading must delight us, but it must also instruct us. Any reading which fulfils both the purposes is an ideal reading. Reading involves quite a good wastage of our physical and mental energy, but to recoup it or just to retain it, reading provides us with the requisite pleasure, delight and also instruction.

Now-a-days we have innumerable distractions like Radio, Television etc. which somewhat retard the interest *in reading. No doubt this screening of ideas and thoughts* enables children and students to make an easy grasp of them but if one has read that item before seeing it on the screen, he will all the more understand it properly and comprehensively. As Bacon puts it, "Reading maketh a full man."

But Swift is one step ahead to Bacon, when he says: "When I am reading a book, whether wise or silly, it seems to me to be alive and talking to me." So is the glaring effect of reading books. But one fact must be taken into consideration while perusing books that one must read the best books first. Otherwise one may not have a chance to read them all. But before this bewildering number of books, it is a tough job to make the selection, but this has been well expatiated by Bulwer Lytton, when he remarks: "In science, read by preference, the newest works, in literature the oldest. The classic literature is always modern."

Bacon says, "Histories make men wise, politics witty, mathematics subtle, natural philosophy makes us exact, deep, moral, grave, and logic and rhetoric able to contend So every department of human knowledge has different aims and objects to give to humanity. Books are immortal. 'Laws die, books never' is the very assertion of Bulwer Lytton. Books must be treasured and cherished. They are the very friends, philosophers and guides. While going through a literary novel or drama the reader sometimes is so engrossed in the dialogues of

characters, that he is completely lost as if talking to that character. In the plays of Shakespeare, there are 1200 characters whose whims and fancies, caprice and crotchets resemble to many a number of reader. The reader is simply delighted to go through the most humorous characters, which he also finds around him. Who can forget the Falstaff of Shakespeare, if any one has read his drama entitled 'King Henry The Fourth'. The manner of his acting amuses one and all. Such books of the wise men are the most perpetuating writings. These are really great riches which one must not squander. Books are the storehouses of profound thoughts and literary gems. But for these books, this world would have been the poor in knowledge.

So is the importance of books and their readers. We must find spare time for this purpose. It is a good art. A voracious reader is a great mental gymnast. Reading is mental exercise. For the proper development of mind, reading is the sine qua non. Addison writes, "Reading is to the mind, what exercise is to the body." All the great scholars and statesmen, thinkers and writers, politicians and professors are but the products of long and diligent reading. To increase the love and enthusiasm for reading, I cannot keep better than quote Gibbon who poignantly said, "My early and invincible love of reading, I would not exchange for the treasures of India." Such is the significance and importance of reading and the joy which it provides to all the readers.

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95. SARVODAYA

Before delving deep into the topic, it is imperative to know as to what "Sarvodaya" means? What is its proper definition? Broadly speaking it is a concept of social organisation and social development strictly based upon the pronouncements and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. J. P. Narayan and Vinoba Bhave are its staunch protagonists.

Any creed of social development and social construction must take in its purview the totality of man and his mis-en-scene. The whole programme should be planned and pruned so as to meet the needs of the man It isutterly different for an individual to attain the mental, physi- [illegible] which is ridden [illegible] An individual [illegible] conflicting ideas [illegible] om in life and he finds in Sarvodaya, an apex of his hopes and aspirations. It is the main ray of hope for an individual in conflict-torn society. So the individual wants the peace as it found in a classless society and freedom that one enjoys in a stateless society. It is upon this philosophy that the very essence of Sarvodaya lies. Acharya Vinoba Bhave has well expressed this view when he says, "We have to progress from a state of good government to the ultimate state of freedom from government." Sarvodaya is opposed to statism.

Every social system implies the supremacy of one section over the other, thus leading to misery, violence, conflict and what not. All these things, in the long run, prove detrimental and disastrous to society. It is to get rid of these obnoxious ills that Sarvodaya undertakes to redeem social system. Sarvodaya wants to keep aloof and away from all such wasteful extravagances and the irrelevant mills of revolution. It least believes to create the satrapy of a part over the rest In the realm of Sarvodaya, there is no such place as for dissension and distress of the individual. Sarvodaya purports the idea of individualism, the idea of liberal individualism and individual liberalism.

Sarvodaya is neither [illegible]
It is an idea, pure and si[illegible]
Sarvodaya is multilatera[illegible]
still clear, it holds the view that there should be progress of all in all directions. In the province of Sarvodaya comes the programme of decentralisation of village economy having its basis as agriculture and keeps away heavy industry and heavy technology.

Sarvodaya is neither democracy nor socialism. It is the midway between democracy and socialism, or it is the confluence of democracy and socialism. Sarvodaya means that all the Governments will have to take the consent of the governed ones. There should be a direct relationship between the social organisation and the individual. Sarvodaya is just a streak taken out of Gandhian philosophy. Gandhi was of the opinion that if the consent of the individual is not heeded by the government, then he has the full right to resort to Satyagraha. Strictly speaking, it is a programme of decentralisation both in the economic and political spheres, agrarian uplift, regimented mechanization, to be achieved and fulfilled by non-violent methods and democratic approach. So, to be more clear, Sarvodaya combines in it both democracy and socialism.

The present political system in our country is amenable to the concentration or localization of power. Moreover in this scientific society, this is the main negation that modern industrial system has distributed wealth unequally and unfairly.

Whether this power is political, social, financial or educational, it is oddly distributed between the nations as well as within the nation. This type of phenomenon is injurious to both, the powers that be as well as the subjected ones Shelley wisely says.: "Power like a devastating pestilence corrupts whatever it touches and absolute power corrupts absolutely and inevitably." This state of affairs is very harmful to the individual. Those living under the powerful interests of these are bound to be reduced to a state of slavery. The individual is ineffective in such a hegemony, so it needs to be discarded.

Sarvodaya serves as a counteracting force to this concentration of power. It purports the view of decentralization of political power, industrial power and educational power which is the only answer to the concentration of power. Democracy is a Government by the majority and rules out the installation of a small group to rule

over the larger sections of population. In democratic society, an individual is a fulcrum round which the process of democracy moves. Political decentralization enables to reinstate the individual and give him personal liberty which is the sum of human dignity and human happiness.

Sarvodaya has before it many ideals to achieve. The Sarvodaya programme thus suggests and supports the decentralization of economic power If the individual is liberated from the monstrous institution that capitalism involves, he will feel emancipated This will be the Everest of his hopes and aspirations. Sarvodaya gives the opportunity to the individual to contribute his share in the uplift of national progress and national economy. The Sarvodaya creed aims at making every Indian village self-sufficient and self-reliant in terms of its basic necessities. Sarvodaya does not advocate the export of the production rather emphasizes production for consumption.

The First Five-Year Plan had its target of making agriculture as the sound base of country's economy. Something was achieved but still more yet remains to be achieved. Sarvodaya endeavours to uplifit the agrarian base of economy and is least in favour of gigantic urbanization and industrial expansion. Industrialization must be checked and controlled otherwise the high sounding slogans like 'Grow More Food', 'Jai Kisan', in order to achieve self-sufficiency in food will be badly jeopardized. As our country i[illegible] its more [illegible] any step t[illegible] suicidal f[illegible] progress, agriculture forms the very bedrock of a country's economy. It must not be neglected. There goes a pithy jotting which runs like this: "If civilization is to avoid a long decline such as has blighted North Africa and the Near East for the thirteen centuries and for centuries yet to come, society must be born again out of an economy of exploitation to the economy of conservation."

There is a whispering campaign against Sarvodaya some quarters. They say that Sarvodaya is opposed to achine. But the truth is that Sarvodaya is least opposed machinery. Machine is a grand victory over nature. Machine has harnessed the resources of nature. Charkha too a machine. In this modern era of science and specialization, it is impossible to oppose machine. But the only contention of Sarvodaya is that machine should not enslave and eliminate man. If man is eliminated by machinery, machinery creates more problems than it actually solves. It leads to unemployment and unfair distribution of wealth, to which Sarvodaya is deadly opposed.

As to how far the philosophy of Sarvodaya has succeeded in putting the things in its practical shape is mostly yet to be seen. This system of social construction, an offshoot of Mahatma Gandhi's mind, is still a totem pole. It has yet to become a systematic thought. It is still an idee fixe. To some people it is still an enigma. That is why this modern dictum of Gandhi's mind has not made much headway. The fellow-travellers and camp-followers of Marxism and Leninism opine that it is diametrically opposite to the dictums and doctrines of Karl Marx but forgetting the fact that originally this scheme has not yet been executed. Sarvodaya has still to search its executors for putting this modern faith into its practical shape. Whether it is possible will be seen in the years t come.

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96. LESSONS OF HISTORY

History is pregnant with lessons which serve to us profound moralisings. History offers us innumera lessons which make us wise. History is a source of enli enment and instruction. The entire gamut of his serves as a great guide-line. In fact, the womb of his is inexhaustibly fecund because it goes on giving huma lessons and instructions, ideas and ideals which serv best interests of mankind and serve people from. F

into such pitfalls which bring the sad end of mankind. History irradiates the working of the minds of great persons whether they are related to politics, science, arts, crafts, literature or philosophy. Every historical hero has something to tell to the coming generations. The characters of Julius Caesar, Cleopatra, Napoleon, Gladstone, Gandhi and Churchill are important and didactic in their ways. Their deeds and acts give great lessons to the readers and people. Caesar is looked down upon by people as a rutheless tyrant, Napoleon a great warrior, Gladstone an astute statesman, Gandhi a leading light of non-violence and truth, while Cleopatra was the symbol of exquisite beauty, who rocked enthralling comeliness. While Vivekananda was a religious divine who preached the gospel of humanity and universal outlook. Thus history enables us to understand the minds and motifs of the renowned rulers and conquerors of the pristine past and to compare and contrast and then judge the deeds of the present day leaders and rulers in the light of what we have studied.

Making a diligent study of the vast panorama of history, we reach the conclusion that all the good and great personalities who worked for the good and advancement of human race, who have endeavoured for the benefit of humanity, have been honoured and respected by the writers as well as multitudes. Those rulers and conquerors who rode on the band wagon of tyranny and despotism stand condemned before the bar of world opinion. No wonder such blood-thirsty tyrants and land-hungry rulers rose like a meteor in the horizons of world history but soon fizzled out and met their destined sad end Whether it was a Hitler, or Mussolini or Napoleon who had dreamed of world [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ic and barbaric acts do not pay.

The study of history also makes us aware about the futility and waste of war. The historical chapters give

and Goethe's works are profound and deep. As a matter of fact, there are books for every taste of readers. Mathematics, Geography, Astronomy, Sociology, Psychology etc. all have innumerable books written on them. Readers choose according to their mental inclinations and tastes

Choice of books sometimes seems paradoxical. Intel lectuals and voracious readers go on reading whatever comes across them. But even then, it is a wise step, if we make a wise and judicious selection of books that suits our palates. They serve as our friends, philosophers and guides. Books are our companions and a good book acts as a living companion with whom one enjoys talks and laughs. As says Rufus Choate : "A book is the only immortality." Because Bulwer-Lytton would have thus to say 'Law dies, books never."

For those who have interest in history, economics, cast wide field before them. H. G. Walls is an authority on scientific romances. Indeed, the dimensions of books are immeasurable. But one must make a choice of books. All books cannot be read. Those books which are of interest and value, pleasure and profit should be chosen. Books are the pole-stars that guide nations' destinies. A man or a nation if goes wayward and haphazard and then does not consult any relevant book may invite disaster. Because, 'the writings of the wise are the only riches our posterity cannot squander," asserted Landor. Kingsley further enlightens us, when he speaks : "Except a living man there is nothing more wonderful than a book ! a message to us from.........human souls , we never saw...... And yet they arouse us, terrify us, teach us, comfort us, open their hearts to us as brothers."

So is the importance and significance of books and especially if we use good books we are bound to be benefited by many ways. They impart to us all the qualities of head and heart and at the same time make us wise, intelligent and knowledgeable. Choice of books becomes a must. Instead of reading some cheap, and pornographic books, we must make a selection of good books

because. "A good book is the precious life blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured upon purpose to life beyond life," so spoke Milton, the blind bard of England.

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98. THE VALUE OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES

Public libraries have their own value and importance. Apart from the fact that they serve as a source of information and knowledge for the public in general and stud- [illegible] ding. [illegible] and [illegible] icals, newspapers and journals on various subjects. In these pithy writings we find jottings of learned authors, renowned thinkers, erudite scholars, statesmen, astute politicians, litterateurs, scientists, philosophers and religious divines. And one who goes through the works of such luminaries of profound intellect and calibre, is bound to be enlightened on so many problems which confront the society.

The service which these libraries render to the public is invaluable. These libraries cover a wide range of new papers and periodicals It is difficult for an individual to buy all the newspapers. Some educated people want to read almost all the dailies and other weekly and fortnightly magazines. So, these people visit these public libraries and acquire the required knowledge. Every man cannot afford to take even a daily newspaper. Such persons also go to the public libraries and thus serve their purpose of reading newspapers free of cost. In this respect as well, public libraries prove of great value for the people.

Libraries are the rich store-houses of books on various topics. There are books on history, politics, sociology, philosophy, psychology, economics, arts, humanities and sciences, Great volumes and encyclopaedias on the just quoted subjects are of great interest and value for the

community of students and especially those students who are researchers. A research student has to consult a very many number of books and to buy all of them is beyond his reach. Libraries, thus, avoid enormous expenditures which otherwise a student had to incur. These volumes meet the needs of students of various shades, opinions and professions.

The most appealing and striking thing which one notices in public libraries is the heightened atmosphere, the calm, tranquil and serene environments The atmosphere is most congenial for study. There is not even a slight sound or echo. We find only books and readers without any noise. Moreover modern public libraries are equipped with all the amenities and facilities like air-conditioning, easy furniture, well-arranged subject-wise books and above all a librarian who guides the readers for finding books from the shelves.

Libraries inculcate the habit of reading which is very essential for the development of mental faculties and broadening of intellectual horizons and increasing of knowledge. Good books provide ample recreation and thus help a lot in dispelling the gloom and gleeful mood. All this is enjoyed without any charge while if one has to resort for other means of recreation and enjoyment like cinema, club, coffee-houses, one has to spend a lot. Over and above, a library is an exciting stir to reading which indeed makes a full man.

Libraries are the treasure-houses of wisdom and knowledge. They are the means for the spread of civilization, for the advancement of human race and for the removal of appalling ignorance and mass illiteracy. In libraries are stored the lofy thoughts of the ancients and the accumulated learning of all eras. We find there the scriptures of every religion and histories of all the civilizations of the world beginning from the most primordial civilization and coming to the present ones. In modern times libraries are great boons and blessings because they are the

means for the dissemination of news and views, and for the diffusion of knowledge.

In ancient times there were libraries as well but they were not well and fully equipped with the books on all the subjects. They generally kept manuscripts because printing was not there at that time. Moreover, the monasteries used to contain libraries in ancient times. But the scope was limited Modern public libraries preserve all the latest theories and theses on scientific research containing material of untold value. They are aids to civilization. In fact, libraries are the most precious possessions that a nation can have.

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99. THE STUDY OF NOVELS

Or

THE USE AND ABUSE OF NOVELS

Fiction is a veritable chameleon, having innumerable facets and aspects. But novel is one of the most popular form of literature. Fiction stirs the sentimental and emotional elements in human beings. So everyone likes to read fiction. Moreover, the study of novel is much more easy than the study of poetry or any other form of literature. Novels cover practically the entire gamut of human life. Some novelists wrote in a manner as to provide intellectual pleasure by creating 'World', full of men and manners, scenes and situations, customs and conventions while another school of novelists wanted to convey and reflect their philosophy of life through their writings. "A novel," expounds Lord David Cecil, "is a work of art in so far as it introduces us into a living world, in some respects resembling the world we live in but with an individuality of its own. Now this world owes its artist's creative faculty to his experience. His imagination apprehends reality in such a way as to present us with a new vision of it. But in any artist only some

ects of his experience fertilize his imagination, strike
ficiently deep down into the fundamentals of his perso-
ity to kindle his creative spark. His achievement,
erefore, is limited to the part of his work which deals
th these aspects of his experience." The novelist, as
matter of fact, brings shape to his experiences and his
ersonal self which he likes very much.

While reading a novel a reader is impressed by the plot nd characterization. If the plot is well-knit and well-inited, no digressions and diversions, and a superb commentary on the characters, the novel is bound to give interest to the reader. Plot is the very essence of the novel, nay, it is the base on which the whole pyramid of the novel rests.

While reading fiction, we come across various forms of fiction. Some are psychological while others are autobiographical. Modern fiction is many-sided. In modern fiction there is the element of psychology, realism, predominance of sex, consciousness of the form. There is the novel of ideas and a school of novelists representing the stream of consciousness. Referring to the multitudinous changes in subject-matter, form, style and technique which swept over the fiction of 20th century, J. B. Priestley has this to observe : "If we are asked 'what has been happening to the English novel during this period ?' we are tempted to reply, 'Everything' : and to let it go at that."

Novel-reading is a good hobby. Novels recreate us, thrill us, please us and delight us. The study of novels provides ample relief from the fever and fret of life, from the gloom and glum of life, from the boredom and monotony of life. The moments of melancholy and hou of despair and despondency are warded off by reading a interesting novel. We are very much delighted and exh larated on reading the gripping plot, and spell-bou story, the superb characterization and the lucid dialogu Our attention is engaged in knowing what is comi next. This craze is very much there. The novels Henry James, Virginia Woolfe, James Joyce, Doro

Richardson, and Alexander Dumas catch our attention. The philosophy of D H. Lawrence, Freud and Jung has predominated this age. D. H. Lawrence led the revolt against reason. His heroes and heroines were prompted by the dark and carnal urges springing up from their subconscious self. He is the greatest advocate of free love and perfect reorientation of sex. His preoccupation with sexuality, reaching its frankest expression in 'Lady Chatterley's Lover', was so intense and profound that it raised unprofitable speculations as to whether he was himself a sexually sterile. Aldous Huxley also depicts sexual indulgence. In Alexander Dumas' 'Three Musketeers", we have a complete polarisation of history. Sir Walter Scott's novels are a mixture of romance and realism, history and adventure. His 'Kenilworth'. 'The Bride of Lammermoore' and 'The Heart of Midlothian' revitalise the dry bones of history. Virginia Woolfe denounced the materialism of the traditional novelists. As against the intellectual approach of James Joyce, hers is a spiritual and aesthetic exposition. Her 'Mrs. Dalloway' is a shining example of stream consciousness and projects her whole life without time sequence. The novels of Sommer set Maugham are su generio. In his novels like 'Of Human Bondage', 'The Moon and Six-Pence', 'Cakes and Ale', he reflects and reveals the mood of utter cynicism and frustration which overtook the post-war generation of Europe.

While the rich novels of Jane Austen 'Pride and Prejudice', Charlotte Bronte "Jane Eyre", Hardy's 'Tess of D'Urbervilles', E M. Forster's 'Howard's End', Galsworthy's 'The Forsyte Saga' are masterly expositions on human instincts and passions. 'The human nature stands revealed in these novels.

The great novelist always presents the inwardness of human mind and human nature which is found in everyday life. A true novelist depicts the profound movements of his age. The age is reflected in the novel. The author reveals the age as much as the age reveals the author. Jane Austen's 'Pride and 'Prejudice' is a lucid commen-

aspects of his experience fertilize his imagination, strike sufficiently deep down into the fundamentals of his personality to kindle his creative spark. His achievement, therefore, is limited to the part of his work which deals with these aspects of his experience." The novelist, as a matter of fact, brings shape to his experiences and his personal self which he likes very much.

While reading a novel a reader is impressed by the plot and characterization. If the plot is well-knit and well-united, no digressions and diversions, and a superb commentary on the characters, the novel is bound to give interest to the reader. Plot is the very essence of the novel, nay, it is the base on which the whole pyramid of the novel rests.

While reading fiction, we come across various forms of fiction. Some are psychological while others are autobiographical. Modern fiction is many-sided. In modern fiction there is the element of psychology, realism, predominance of sex, consciousness of the form. There is the novel of ideas and a school of novelists representing the stream of consciousness. Referring to the multitudinous changes in subject-matter, form, style and technique which swept over the fiction of 20th century, J. B. Priestley has this to observe : "If we are asked 'what has been happening to the English novel during this period ?' we are tempted to reply, 'Everything' : and to let it go at that."

Novel-reading is a good hobby. Novels recreate us, thrill us, please us and delight us. The study of novels provides ample relief from the fever and fret of life, from the gloom and glum of life, from the boredom and monotony of life. The moments of melancholy and hours of despair and despondency are warded off by reading an interesting novel. We are very much delighted and exhilarated on reading the gripping plot, and spell-bound story, the superb characterization and the lucid dialogues. Our attention is engaged in knowing what is coming next. This craze is very much there. The novels of Henry James, Virginia Woolfe, James Joyce, Dorothy

Richardson, and Alexander Dumas catch our attention. The philosophy of D. H. Lawrence, Freud and Jung has predominated this age. D. H. Lawrence led the revolt against reason. His heroes and heroines were prompted by the dark and carnal urges springing up from their subconscious self. He is the greatest advocate of free love and perfect reorientation of sex. His preoccupation with sexuality, reaching its frankest expression in 'Lady Chatterley's Lover', was so intense and profound [illegible] speculations as to whether he [illegible] uxley also depicts [illegible] "Three Musketeers", we have a complete polarisation of history. Sir [illegible] and realism [illegible] the dry bones of history. Virginia Woolfe denounced the materialism of the traditional novelists. As against the intellectual approach of James Joyce, hers is a spiritual and aesthetic exposition. Her 'Mrs. Dalloway' is a shining example of stream consciousness and projects her whole life without time sequence. The novels of Somer set Maugham are su generio. In his novels like 'Of Human Bondage', 'The Moon and Six-Pence', 'Cakes and Ale', he reflects and reveals the mood of utter cynicism and frustration which overtook the post-war generation of Europe.

While the rich novels of Jane Austen 'Pride and Prejudice', Charlotte Bronte "Jane Eyre", Hardy's 'Tess of D'Urbervilles', E. M. Forster's 'Howard's End', Galsworthy's 'The Forsyte Saga' are masterly expositions on human instincts and passions. The human nature stands revealed in these novels.

The great novelist always presents the inwardness of human mind and human nature which is found in everyday life. A true novelist depicts the profound move of his age. The age is reflected in the novel. The reveals the age as much as the age reveals the Jane Austen's 'Pride and 'Prejudice' is a luci

ary on the social customs of her age. Thackeray's 'Henry Esmond' depicts the age of Queen Anne. He reproduced the very tone and temper of the age with profundity and made history the master of romance. Charles Reade's 'The Cloister and the Hearth' is a great historical novel presenting with truth and realism the 15th century life of Italy, Germany and Holland while George Eliot's 'Romola' evokes Renaissance life in 15th century Florence.

In fact, it is but difficult to describe the entire panorama of fiction. Novels serve as source of entertainment as well as moral teaching. In the novels the devils get their due. Each character is rewarded according to his/her deeds. The poetic justice is there in the novels. Some novelists present characters which appear quite talking, laughing, nay the real beings. Some novelists cry for social reform as is found in the works of Charles Dickens.

But according to a school of critics the works of D. H. Lawrence, Freud, Jung, Aldous Huxley border on obscenity. Lawrence's 'Lady Chatterley's Lover' and Joyce's 'Ulysses' have often been mistaken for literary pornography. It is a firm belief with Lawrence that the inwardness of human relationships can only be understood by the 'passions of the blood', while G. M. Forster revels round the idea of 'passion of intelligence'.

But there is not least denying the fact that too much engrossment in fictional study is not good. While studying fiction, we are transported in the world of fiction, in the make-believe world of our own creation. With the resu[lt] we are carried away from the living realities. We becom[e] imaginative too much. We become the prisoners of th[e] whims and fancies of the *prima donna*. Inability to atta[in] these fulfilments results in mental dejection and the who[le] state becomes disheartening and disenchanting.

To study something is not bad but what is to be tak[en] into account is that we must be conscientious wh[ile] reading good, bad or indifferent novels. A judicious sc[...]

tion is a must before we resort to the process of novel-reading. The study of fiction is a source of enlightenment and recreation, knowledge and information to many a mind who are oppressed by the weight of dejection and despondencey, melancholy and frustration. Only a proper selection of novels can prevent such jarring phenomenon.

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99. (*a*) SCIENCE AND ARTS

[illegible] centuries and revel and reflect the entire range of sciences and arts. Science and arts, *prima facie*, appear to be as two incompatible modes of human thought but if we [illegible] science and arts and goes on to prove that the development of both has been cheek by jowl.

There is not least denying the fact that the poets have been interested in science as well as scientists have been influenced by poetry. Both the minds, artistic as well as scientific, have realised that an exclusively scientific training will bring about a mental twist training.

Tyndall, a 19th century scientist, spurred in pursuit of science by inspiration drawn from Tennyson. Darwin was deeply delighted to read the dramas of Shakespeare and the poems of Wordsworth and Shelley and continued the same habit of peeping into the pages of poetry even in his senility. Humphry Davy and Rowan Hamilton were interested in poetry but at the same time were zealous researchers. Thomas Huxley had been interested in literature and examples of many more can be cited to

show the immense interest of scientific workers in the horizon of art. Some scientists have been poets as well. In the 2nd century, Ptolemy, the astronomer, was a true poet. Even in the 20th century, H. G. Wells and Julian Huxley, though literary artists, have equally been interested in science and scientific researches.

Despite these instances, where scientists have been artists and *vic. versa*, the fact remains that there is a fundamental difference between science and art. For whereas science delights in ascertaining and to set in intelligible and ordered relation the facts of the physical world, arts have in their province the depiction of the life of man in all its aspects, and working through the feelings, quickens that life to a higher consciousness. Of man as a social animal science has little to tell, of his life as an individual nothing.

Art has in its province the concern of man as a spiritual being and not man as a creature of the world. The artist irradiates man's feelings, affections, emotions and sensibilities. The irrardness of human life, which is related with soul, is not at all touched by science Of good and evil, virtue and vice, freedom and justice, science has nothing to say. The scientific vocabulary has no regard for such words as beauty and heroism, nobility and kindness etc. The sun of science does not dazzle the world of emotions and feelings which is the proper domain of artist. Thus in spirit scientist and artist stand poles apart. The artist revels in imagination and ideality whereas a man of science is the product of the intellect and reason, analysis and experiment. A poet appreciates flower's beauty in his own imaginative way while a scientist will dissect its beauty under the searchlight of his critical analysis.

In spite of the fundamental difference between these two forces of human mind, the influence of scientist on the artist and of science on literature has been quite prominent. While scientific postulates and theories are susceptible to change, the realm of art does not undergo any change.

The hurricane of science swept the shores of England during 17th century, popularly known as Elizabethan age. In the powerful winds of Renaissance there were seen floating the straws of science as well as art Francis Bacon is often described as the child of the Renaissance art and literature in Europe. But science was the master passion of Bacon's life. To the scientist, Bacon was the Moses of Science. He realized that Aristotle and other university teachers and philosophers had not used the scientific method in their enquiries. Bacon was the first to advocate the inductive method in science. His Novum Organum is a piece de resistance in science Davenant with conscious pride admits that he 'is obliged for his imagery to man of science, as well as mechanical and liberal' The inspiration from science was particularly drawn by Donne and Milton. Though a religious preacher, Donne was influenced by science to a limited extent because he was the disciple of old scholasticism, and the new science could not impress him much.

Elizabethan dramatists were swept away by the new thought currents in science. Christopher Marlowe, in his Doctor Faustus, makes the learned Doctor of Germany interested in the mysteries of astronomical sciences. Even earlier to Marlowe, Chauce had been interested in the science of astronomy and his 'Astrolable, is a literary man's contribution to the understanding of celestial bodies. Chaucer's 'Astrolable' is an early scientific life treatise by one of the greatest men of letters The greatest interest of this book lies in the fact it presents the spectacle of an early example of the scientific application of literature and literary handling of science

Even the Royal Society was a blend of scientists and artists. Though the very forte of the Royal Society was to advance the cause of science, literary dilettantes were at once drawn towards the Royal Society and the original members of the society were Denham, Evelyn, Waller, Cowley and Dryden. The intimate association in the Royal Society of literary luminaries like Dryden and Cowley with men of science did much in accelerating the

nge that was coming over literature and through minds tead of being lost in the discussion of philosophical and ystical values, began to be preoccupied with the problems realities.

With this spate of facts and plethora of expressions it is ow clear that science and art have gone and are going ide by side. They must go side by side not as rivals but s friends. They have gone side by side in the Elizabethan ge. The Industrial Revolution and Romantic Revival came simultaneously and both shared a common language in the Restoration period. There have been men who have been scientists and artists. Leonardo da Vinci, a versatile genius, was an engineer, sculptor, artist etc. Omar Khayyam was an astronomer and a poet of Orient. It is why Prof. Bronowski brackets science with arts. So science and arts are inter-dependent and one cannot progress in the absence of the other.

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100. IS SCIENCE CREATOR OR DESTROYER

Blizzards of confusion have blown over the subject, whether science is a creator or a destroyer. Many a mind has churned their thinking over this issue. But still the embers of controversy seem alive. That science is a creator or destroyer is really a confounding statement Opinions generally remains divided on the subject. No one can claim that science is a creator ; nor any one else can propound that it is a destroyer. The answer lies in the mid of two extremes as is evident from the ensuing study.

At its very outset science has been reckoned to be great force in the modern times because the gadgets c science have really transformed the man and his milieu The astounding scientific achievements almost in all th fields have changed the living conditions of humanity, ha brought in its economic advancement, material splendou and outlook—which is based upon experimentation ar

observation, on national enquiry and thought, an outlook founded on the rock of sound reasoning. The scientific society has shunned and eschewed the old wor'd of superstition and sophistry, of blind faith and fanaticism, of dogma and doubt, of scepticism and sentimentalism. Science is something universal knowing no barriers and barricades.

The scientist is a man, a great creator of things, which can be applied for the pleasure and profit of humanity. The startling discoveries and inventions in the field of transport and communication have made the life of human beings easy and comfortable. The outcome of the aeroplane, ships, sputniks and man-made satellites have not only facilitated the travelling, easy and fast but these scientific achievements have opened before us new vistas of research and exploration. The interplanetary communication facilitated by rockets and sputniks is not merely a triumph in the field of communication but these inventions have made the process of research in the upper layers of the atmosphere more easy, providing to the team of scientists new knowledge, new information and new data about the celestial bodies. Even in the sphere of health and hygiene, science has created innumerable medicines that promise to remove the last traces of disease from the surface of the earth While the invention of electricity, telephone, television has made the life of people comfortable, Science has given to humanity such a store-house of knowledge that the latter has been quite a failure to understand it and apply it for the greatest good of greatest numbers Science has given men gigantic energy and strength but this moral and mental sense still seems to be as dwarfish as ever.

Science may be harmless though a positive blessing because science is an unending search for knowledge, for truth. Science has conquered the unconquerable forces of nature but the tragedy lies in that it has not conquered human passions and sentiments.

20th century is an age of scientific research almost in all the departments of human activity. The discovery of

the possibility of focussing electro-magnetic radiations created conditions for the building of lasers. The first successful communications sessions by means of directed laser beams were conducted last year. But the militarists want to use this discovery, too, as a weapon of destrution, as "death rays".

As a matter of fact, the science of universe goes back deep into the history of the research for an answer to the mystery of its creation, beginning from Phales and Democritus, and then on to Copernicus and Galileo and Laplace. All these luminaries of science applied their discoveries and inventions for the enhancement of human knowledge. The progress of science down to the present times has brought people countless benefits. The raising of agriculture, electrification and the creation of new materials, the introduction of automatic machines, the utilisation of nuclear energy, the liquidation of epidemics and increasing man's life expectancy—all this is based on the achievements of science. This phenomenon shows that science makes man a creator, it bestows upon him a great power to harness nature. But with all this, science is still a Frankenstein—a mindless monster—which overpowers the creator—man and thus ends the master.

That science has enabled us to travel over land, to swim like fish and to fly like bird, is indubitable. It has endowed man with a plethora of comforts and inventions but it has still to teach man as to how to put them in best use.

There is prevailing in our minds a sense of doom today. The sense of doom is not the fear of science, it is the fear of war. "And the causes of war were not created by science"...... ...asserts Prof. Bronowski. He goes on, "No, science has not invented war, but it has turned it into a very different thing. The people who distrust it are not wrong. The man in the pub who says 'It'll wipe out the world', the woman in the queue who says 'It isn't national'—they do not express themselves very well; but what they are trying to say makes sense.

Science has enlarged the mechanism of war, and it has destroyed it."

Some of the startling [illegible] of war [illegible] and [illegible] napalm bomb, bacteriological war-fare, poison-gas, TNT etc., have certainly multiplied the power of the war-makers. Such weapons can kill more people, more secretly and pleasantly than those of the past. Moreover, this second distressing phenomenon has been the creation of a sort of cold-war by science, which Prof Bronowski calls "was nerves and the war of nerves" Because, the purely scientific achievements have been used by politicians as instruments of their ideological propaganda Thus science has been mixed with politics. This trend is bad and provocative. The inventions of science must not be misused for furthering the political ends. Science is something universal, international. But the politicians and militarists want to use the achievements of modern micro-biology and epidemiology for purposes that are absolutely contrary to the tasks of medical science, they are creating chemical and bacteriological means of mass annihilation which, while killing all life, will preserve material wealth.

Thus with such inventions on the surface of the earth, any wrong step by any people or power can spell the death and destruction of humanity. "Science has merely provided the means for good or for ill and society has seized it for ill", observes Prof Bronowski. This shows that science and scientists endeavour to remove the ocean of misery and grief from this earth, to remove all such afflictions which are haunting humanity. But the [illegible] destroyer? [illegible] ative force [illegible] has not as- [illegible] ness of that orders the destruction of people. Science is least be blamed. It is the mind of man which is responsible

was responsible for brutally bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Thus, while the scientist strives to remove the islands of illiteracy, death and disease, it is the politician who brings these evils.

Albert Einstein once remarked that politics is more complicated than physics. Man's mind has penetrated into the mysteries of the atom but it has not yet achieved the means which could protect it from tragedies. Therefore, it is more important for scientists to take up politics.

Science has proved to be a harbinger of the Godly kingdom on the earth. We are on the threshold of the practical application of the tremendous possibilities of popular welfare and universal flourishing. The step in this direction will really change the very structure of humanity. Otherwise, the modern scientific and technical progress makes war not simply devastating but it makes war tantamount to self-destruction.

There is need to wage a struggle for peace, for outlawing atomic weapons and declaring war as an illegal and inhuman act. War is a great plague and pestilence in the modern times. It is disastrous for the victor as well as for the vanquished. A proper outlook towards science is a must if humanity wants to survive. Survival of humanity in this nuclear-ridden and war torn world is the greatest question. Decision will have to be made pretty early before any big or mad power pulls the trigger and starts a catastrophical conflagration, which would be an immeasurable calamity for the scientists as well as politicians. Science is, nevertheless, a creator but it is the mind of man and that too of the politician which resorts to extinction and destruction of humanity.

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101. PROPAGANDA IN THE MODERN WORLD

Propaganda in the present-day world has been considered as one of the most vital weapons for the popularisation of news and views, for the dissemination of ideas

and information, for the spread of knowledge and above all for keeping the country's image organised efforts and systematic advertisements. Moreover in this scientific age, science has given innumerable instruments for making mass propaganda. Radio, television, press etc. are the most important medias for propagating policies and programmes in all the fields of human activity.

It is only because of propaganda, that people's morale is kept high at the time of war. Propaganda plays a major role in keeping the tempo of the people according to circumstances and situations. Propaganda can be of great use for popularising economic programmes, political doctrines as well as for commercial and military purposes. During World War II, the Allies emerged out victoriously and their victory was partly based upon the use of most scientific ways of propaganda.

This system of propaganda finds its genesis down the ages though the methods used for propagating the ideas and ideals were different. In the old principalities and princedoms, the kings and princes used to win popular support for the throne by singing its glories and successes. For this purpose, great bards and poets were invited and asked to recite some poems eulogising the throne. For the spread of religion, missionaries used to tour and travel far off lands in order to give the message of their respective religious wars and crusades and all these were kept up by the platform and pulpit, were the most common means of propaganda.

But in this age of science and technology, the old methods of propa[illegible] methods. The inv[illegible] radio, television, [illegible] microphone have [illegible] to the propaganda. Propaganda covers a large area for the spread and dissemination of news and views as well as covers large audiences.

An orator speaking from All India Radio can sway the audiences of the whole country by his powerful eloquence and convincing arguments. Churchill, by the sheer ferver of his words and oratory, could mesmerise the whole world into war. His lengthy though powerful speeches against the tyranny of Hitler won for him world renown and his speeches were heard and read by the modern means of propaganda like radio and press.

Press plays a great role in so far as the question of propaganda is concerned. Morning neswpapers, periodicals, magazines and other paraphernalia of press percolates among the educated classes. The role of cinema and news-reels in screening the things of great importance and significance for the persons of all hues and views is really commendable. The horrors of World Wars can at once be seen through the films which screen the very tragic and horrid scenes of war. From these scenes, humanity can learn the lessons that war is a deadly plague. From the picture we can know about the military operations and fighting scenes in far off lands as well as thwarting all such information and news that is incorrect and retardthe pace of defence preparedness. The rumours spread be fifth-columnists anti nationalists and traitors can only by counteed through the means of modern propaganda. Especially the days of fighting attract large audiences before radio sets as people are enthusiastic for knowing the latest happenings on the battle-front.

In the modern world publicity is of great value and publicity in foreign lands is all the more indispensable. Today, any nation, which is the first to give the publicity about her policies and programmes is usually ranked as a true nation. At the time of Chinese and Pakistani aggressions in 1962 and 1965 respectively, the world was misled and dodged by the sheer foreign publicity of these two powers. Fantastic headlines appeared in the press of foreign countries. It was all because of their blackmail.

through publicity and propaganda. How the whole world willynilly sided with Pakistan was achieved only through the sheer power of propaganda.

There is no exaggeration in saying that modern age is an age of propaganda. Great wars and battles, election contests are won by propaganda, good, bad or indifferent. Propaganda is a most vital factor for success in the present world of advertisement. Some countries have in their cabinets Propaganda Ministers. The appointment of Mr. Goebbles by Hitler as Propaganda Minister of Germany during the crucial days of World War II, was an act of great wisdom. But the Goebblesquian tricks became vulnerable before the brisk propaganda of Britishers. Propaganda can work wonders It can make or mar political parties, can demoralise the armies and can win multitudes in religion.

Propaganda, conducted by the means which advertisers have found successful, is now one of the recognised methods in all advanced countries, and is especially the method by which democratic opinion is created. On the whole, the art of propaganda in the present world of mutual wranglings is indispensable. Broadly speaking a country is powerful or weak according to the propaganda it has made in the world.

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